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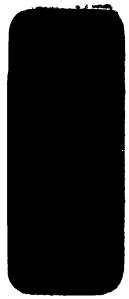

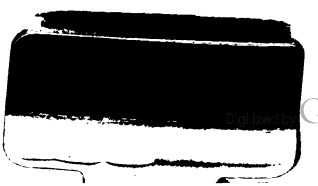

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CAMBRIDGE

IN THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

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CAMBRIDGE CHARACTERISTICS

IN THE

Seventeenth Century:

OR

THE STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY

AND THEIR

INFLUENCE ON THE CHARACTER AND WRITINGS OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED GRADUATES DURING THAT PERIOD.

BY

JAMES BASS MULLINGER, B.A.
ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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TO THE

REV. JOHN EYTON BICKERSTETH MAYOR,

THIS ESSAY

ON A

PERIOD SO SUCCESSFULLY ILLUSTRATED BY HIS OWN

RESEARCHES IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

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THIS ESSAY OBTAINED THE LE BAS PRIZE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE IN THE YEAR 1867.

A LARGE number of Members of the Civil Service of India who were students at the East India College at Haileybury, at various intervals during the thirty years that the Rev. C. W. LE BAS, M.A. formerly Fellow of Trinity College, was connected with that Institution, desirous of testifying their regard for Mr LE BAS, and of perpetuating the memory of his services, raised a Fund which they offered to the University of Cambridge for founding an annual Prize, to be called in honour of Mr LE BAS, The *Le Bas Prize*, for the best English Essay on a subject of General Literature, such subject to be occasionally chosen with reference to the history, institutions, and probable destinies and prospects of the Anglo-Indian Empire.

The Prize is subject to the following Regulations, confirmed by Grace of the Senate, Nov. 22, 1848.

1. That the LE BAS PRIZE shall consist of the annual interest of the above-mentioned Fund, the Essay being published at the expense of the successful Candidate.

2. That the Candidates for the Prize shall be, at the time when the subject is given out, Bachelors of

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Arts under the standing of M.A.; or Students in Civil Law or Medicine of not less than four or more than seven years' standing, not being graduates in either faculty, but having kept the Exercises necessary for the degree of Bachelor of Law or Medicine.

The subject for the Essay proposed by the Vice-Chancellor for the year 1866 was

> "Cambridge in the Seventeenth Century; the influence of its studies upon the character and writings of the most distinguished graduates during that period."

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CONTENTS.

PAGES

INTRODUCTION ..... 1—4

CHAPTER I.

CAMBRIDGE PRIOR TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Traditional antiquity of Cambridge.—Early studies.—Lodging-house system: its effects; extortion of the townsmen; establishment of Hostels.—Numbers of the Students.—Religious Orders existing in Cambridge; overbearing conduct of the Monks; proselytism.—Tournaments.—"North" and "South."—"Town" and "Gown."—Migration to Northampton.—Period of Foundations.—*Cambridge Studies* before the revival of learning; the Schoolmen; origin of the revival.—*Erasmus;* his letters; his testimony; his Greek lectures.—Jealousy excited by the study of Greek; Oxford and Cambridge both claim the priority in the introduction of the study; Ascham and his supporters; controversy respecting the pronunciation of Greek.—Statutes of Elizabeth.—Statutes of Edward VI.—Lectures.—Indications of a progressive spirit of enquiry.—Closer relations between the University and the Crown.—The Puritans; their boldness in the University ..... 5—24

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER II.

CAMBRIDGE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

PAGES

Two hundred and thirty-five years ago; College routine and methods of instruction; age of admission.—Characteristics of Undergraduate life; testimony of Sir Simonds D'Ewes; evidence of Cosin and Sterne.—State of religious parties throughout England from 1600 to 1625; Lord Keeper Williams; Synod of Dort; policy of James; the "Directions" to the Clergy; Archbishop Laud; facts confirmatory of D'Ewes' evidence.—Causes of demoralization; Court influence; dramatic performances; "Ignoramus;" "Return from Parnassus;" general standard of dramatic literature; Heywood; Shirley; Charles Lamb's estimate of the period; Milton's criticism; D'Ewes' opinion.—*Studies of the period;* innovations on the Statutes of Elizabeth; College arrangements; slight attention paid to the study of Mathematics; Seth Ward's account; Bacon's estimate; Logic; Milton's opinion. —Ramus's Logic. — Theology. — Functions of the Tutor; Francis Gardiner; Chappell; Ferrar's evidence; Whichcot; Henry More.—Ethics.—Disputations at the schools; interest they excited; Hacket's description.—Classical studies; D'Ewes' account; Downes; Barrow; Thomas May; Versification; Meric Casaubon; Milton; George Herbert; Dr Pope ..... 25—60

CHAPTER III.

INFLUENCE OF CAMBRIDGE STUDIES AS DISCERNIBLE IN THE CHARACTER AND WRITINGS OF DISTINGUISHED GRADUATES DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.—PART I. INFLUENCE ON MANNER.

Mannerisms of the period; fondness for quotation; Jeremy Taylor; his pulpit oratory; Hughes's criticism; South's criticism; Latin structure of sentences; Sir Thomas Browne; rhetorical form of writing; Cowley; purity of his prose; artificial character of his verse; Eikon Basiliké; Earl of Essex's Apology; disputatious mode of expression in the writers of this period; Richard Mountague; his "Diatribæ."..... 61—75

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CHAPTER III. (*continued*).

PART II.—INFLUENCE ON CHARACTER AND THOUGHT.

PAGES

Milton.—Anglican school of divines; Puritan sympathies of recent historians; Mr Masson's account.—Anglican school at Cambridge; Jeremy Taylor; his *Apology for the Liturgy;* sentiments of his school.—Joseph Mede; his system of tuition; his studies on prophecy.—Worthington.—John Smith of Queens'.—Rust; his *Discourse of Truth*.—Henry More.—Whichcot.—Nicholas Ferrar; his travels; his connection with the Virginia Company; elected Member of Parliament; his retirement from public life; his life at Little Gidding; criticism it provoked.—Matthew Robinson; his distaste for Logic; his political sympathies; his anatomical studies; accepts a family living; his religious views; his recreations; his attention to Theology.—Tolerant spirit of the Anglican party..... 76—107

CHAPTER IV.

THE CARTESIAN PHILOSOPHY.

New schools of thought.—Descartes; rapid spread of his philosophy.—Claims of Bacon's and Descartes' philosophy compared; Condorcet's comparison; general neglect of the Baconian method; Cousin's estimate of the new philosophies; Degerando's; Descartes not disposed to neglect experiment; Cousin's vindication; real differences between the two methods.—Differences between the Aristotelians and Cartesians; Descartes' Theory of Perception; alarm of the Schools; the Philosophy satirized by Prior ..... 108—122

CHAPTER V.

THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS.

Neo-Platonism; Eclecticism the great characteristic of Philosophy during the first five centuries.—Ammonius Saccas; Plotinus; his celebrity in Italy; his asceticism; his death.—Porphyry

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PAGES

and Amelius; Iamblichus; Proclus; decline and extinction of the School.—Distinctive tenets of Neo-Platonism; Professor Maurice's criticism; resemblance to philosophy of Spinoza; its asceticism; its theory of life.—Relations of Neo-Platonism to Christianity; Dr Donaldson's account; sympathy of the early Fathers; Clemens of Alexandria; rivalry between Neo-Platonism and Christianity.—Iamblichus *de Mysteriis;* Professor Maurice's criticism on the work.—Claims of Neo-Platonism to miraculous powers; effects of such claims upon the policy of the Church.—The Cambridge School; elements of mysticism to be recognized in the 17th century; Dr Henry More; influence and character of his writings; his *Mystery of Godliness;* Professor Maurice's criticism; Isaac Milles's account; his "Psychozoia;" his admiration of Spenser.—Dr Ralph Cudworth; his *Intellectual System;* his Theory of a Plastic Medium.—Views of the Platonists respecting the Cartesian Philosophy; Dr Whewell's comments; Cudworth's criticisms on Descartes.—Dr Thomas Gale; his edition of Iamblichus; his censure of the Sceptical Philosophy.—The Platonists as Moralists; contrasted with Hobbes; Hobbes's Utilitarianism; Cudworth's Eternal and Immutable Morality; Dr Whewell's criticism; his views contrasted with those of Cudworth.—Mr Buckle's censure of the Clergy of the day; point of view from which their position should be regarded; Coleridge's estimate of the period ..... 123—174

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR TO THE RESTORATION.

Outbreak of the Civil War; Royalist sympathies of Cambridge; Cromwell; his measures in the University; conduct of the Parliament soldiery.—Establishment of rival Schools.—Change in the studies of the University; Heywood's account; Tutorial influences.—Dr James Duport; his lectures on Theophrastus; his conservative tendencies; his fondness for verse composition; his occasional pieces; his *Homeri Gnomologia;* retires from the Greek Professorship in favour of Barrow; Barrow's Inaugural Oration; Duport and Milton probably acquainted.—Declaration of Breda .... 175—188

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INTRODUCTION.

THE seventeenth century, an eventful era in the annals of all Europe, will always possess a paramount interest in relation to the history of our own country, as the period during which she passed through her most trying ordeal and the crisis of her political life. Whether viewed in relation to their destructive or their re-constructive tendencies, the events of those years are unsurpassed in importance both as regards their immediate and their subsequent effects. Then it was that the great principles of the Reformation expanded and bore fruit; the potent charm which had so long enthralled the minds of men had been broken; the achievement of religious freedom was soon followed by aspirations after political liberty; the authority of the Vatican once set aside, the divine right of kings soon began to be called in question; a new element was perceptible alike in the utterances of the pulpit and the forum; the bold tones of the monk of Wittenburg re-echoed in the attainder of Strafford and the debates of Westminster Hall. It was an age of revolution, and events, alike in the political, the intellectual, and the religious world, conspired to make it so. The English sceptre had passed from the ablest of the Tudors to the feeblest of the Stuarts. A new philosophy had arisen which boldly impugned the authority of antiquity and the labours of the

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schoolmen, and was already asserting its claims to that supremacy over the national mind which it was destined ultimately to achieve. And lastly, the elements of political discord were gradually embittered by an antagonism of sects, unsurpassed in the history of religious warfare for its fervour of conviction and intensity of feeling. It is to be observed, moreover, that in each province of its action the results of this great revolution still remain. Other nations have been shaken by revolutions of equal severity, which have, however, passed away to leave in a few years scarcely a vestige of their influence. Larger armies and abler generals have contended than those who fought at Naseby and at Marston Moor; battles have been lost and won which have turned back the tide of barbaric invasion or have changed the boundaries of empires; with such, in their immediate effects on the current of human affairs, the struggles of our great civil war cannot compare. The dignity of that contest consists almost entirely in its moral significance: it was a war of principles, of opinions and of creeds, of earnest men fighting for what they held to be inalienably theirs by right, of valiant men fighting to preserve that which they held ought ever to be regarded as sacred and inviolable. In proportion as we appreciate more closely the debt we thus owe to those of our forefathers who bore the burden of those eventful days, is our desire to be more intimately acquainted with all relating to the history of the time,—a desire the growth of which is sufficiently attested by the earnest spirit in which not a few of our ablest writers have devoted themselves to the study and elucidation of that history. Nor can we conceive that these annals will ever lose their interest for thoughtful Englishmen. The time will probably come when a future generation will turn over with languid emotion the page that records the achievements of Agincourt, of Poitiers,

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and even of Waterloo, as recording enmities which we would fain hope are fast disappearing before the mutual esteem and mutual benefits resulting from the increased intercourse of two great nations. But the interest which gathers round the contests of Crown and Parliament in the seventeenth century is of a different order; it finds response in the deepest convictions of human nature, and will survive when the vulgar renown of wars waged for mere material dominion has ceased to attract alike the historian and the student.

Amid times of so much danger and commotion, amid the great moral struggle by which they were preceded and the great constitutional changes by which they were followed, it can be neither an uninteresting nor an uninstructive enquiry to endeavour to trace the history of our national centres of learning and education. What, in reference to our own University, we feel tempted to ask, was the part she played? How did the sons whom she nurtured acquit themselves in those eventful days? How far did the studies within her walls act upon the restless spirit of innovation and enquiry without? To what extent did that spirit, in turn, influence her academic life and vitalise her pursuits? Do those of her sons whose names shone with lustre in the field of action or of intellectual achievement appear to have derived vigour from her fostering care and guidance from her teachings, or do they rather stand out in strong relief as instances of genius, asserting its inherent powers above the accidents of time and place, and rising superior to a lifeless round of traditional studies and chilling formalism to grasp the laurel of future renown? How far, again, may the revolution within her own walls be a lesson to us now? What influences for good and for evil may we trace to the great change in her character and pursuits which this eventful seventeenth century beheld?

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To these enquiries, and such as these, our task directs us, a task requiring the exercise of no small judgment and discrimination. It has been comparatively an easy matter to trace out the mental history of the most eminent of our graduates during this period, to indicate the leading characteristics of their writings, and to establish a certain connection between these and the studies of the time; but in endeavouring to prove a more intimate relation, and to point out the finer links of reciprocal influence,—to give on the one hand due weight to the effects of any course of study on the bent of the mind at so impressible a stage of its development, and to avoid on the other that undue inference of cause and effect to which a too servile treatment of our subject seemed likely to lead,—we have been conscious of much doubt and difficulty, and the degree to which we have succeeded must be decided by those more competent to judge.

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CHAPTER I.

CAMBRIDGE PRIOR TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

A RETROSPECT of Cambridge life and studies in the seventeenth century presents so much that differs essentially from the characteristic features of the present day, that, in order to comprehend more intelligently the position of our University at that time, and the influences at work within her midst, it seems necessary to briefly extend our review to a still more distant period. In doing so, I shall endeavour to confine my remarks to a few salient features, which may be identified in their fuller development at a later day, and to the elucidation of certain tendencies, which may be found operating with increased force at the period which we have more especially to consider.

Traditional antiquity of Cambridge.

Although with respect to our own University we can scarcely adopt the familiar sentiment of the Roman poet, when apostrophizing the famed river of antiquity,—

> Arcanum natura caput non prodidit ulli,
> Nec licuit populis parvum te, Nile, videre,

it may safely be asserted that like the Nile its origin is lost in obscurity. The contest for priority between the sister Universities is well known. Oxford has amused her leisure by tracing her origin to a Trojan colony; Cambridge, by claiming a Spanish prince, one Cantaber, as her founder; a piece of antiquarian research which Livy might have perhaps deemed worthy of serious discussion. During

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the period that preceded the Norman Conquest, the Danish occupations, Fuller tells us, rendered the whole country round about unquiet, and "Mars frighted away the Muses." Nor were matters much mended during the pertinacious defence of the monks of Ely against the Conqueror. Falling back on Cambridge, William built the castle on the hill which still preserves the name. Antiquarians appear to agree in allowing that Henry Beauclerc probably received his education here, and it is during the reign of this monarch that we have the first insight into the ancient studies of the University. The following account as given by Peter de Blois, in his Continuation of Ingulphus, is so full of interest that we have transcribed it entire:—"Joffred, abbot of Crowland, sent over[1] to his manor of Cottenham, nigh Cambria, Gislebert his fellow monk and professor of divinity with three other monks; who following him into England, being thoroughly furnished with theorems and other primitive sciences, repaired daily to Cambridge; and, having hired a certain public barn, made open profession of their sciences, and in a short space of time drew together a great company of scholars. But in the second year after their coming, the number of their scholars grew so great, as well from out of the whole county as the town, that the biggest house or barn or any church whatsoever sufficed not to contain them. Whereupon sorting themselves apart in several places, and taking the university of Orleans for their pattern, early in the morning monk Odo, a singular grammarian and satirical poet, read Grammar unto boys, and those of the younger sort assigned unto him, according to the doctrine of Priscian and Remigius upon him. At one of the clock, Terricus, a most witty and subtle sophister, taught the elder sort of young men

Early Studies.

[1] A.D. 1109.

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Aristotle's Logic, after the Introduction of Porphyry and the comments of Averroes. At three[1] of the clock, monk William read a lecture in Tully's Rhetoric and Quintilian's Flores[2]. But the great Master Gislebert upon every Sunday and holy day preached God's word unto the people. On feast days before the sixth hour he expounded to the literates and the priests, who in especial resorted to hear him, a text from the page of Holy Scripture." "And thus," remarks Fuller, whose quaint rendering we have given, "out of this little fountain which grew to be a great river, we see how the city of God now is come to be enriched[3]."

Lodging-house System.

It is to be remarked that the lodging-house system, which now appears as an excrescence on the University, was at first its normal condition; the same over-crowding of the students and extortion on the part of the townsmen which accompanied the growth of the Universities of Bologna, Salerno and Paris, attended that of our own[4]. "The townsmen," says Fuller, "began now most unconscionably to raise and rack the rent of their houses wherein the scholars did sojourn. Every low cottage was highly valued. Sad the condition when learning is the tenant and ignorance is the landlord[5]." In the year 1231, these evils had attained to such a pitch that the students appear to have

Its effects.

Extortion of the townsmen.

[1] Peter de Blois uses the canonical divisions of the day; so that the one lectured at six and the other at nine o'clock in the morning.

[2] The Institutions.

[3] It must be admitted, however, that some discredit attaches to this account from the mention of Averroes, who was not born until A.D. 1149. Perhaps Peter de Blois was so accustomed to hear the name of the Arabian commentator coupled with that of Aristotle that he inserted it without reflection.

[4] On the effects of these evils, cf. Cardinal de Vitry (Jacobi de Vitriaco, *Hist. Occident.* c. 7). The same demoralization, we may infer from different sources, led to the foundation of colleges at Cambridge.

[5] *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 19.

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contemplated a general migration, and the interposition of the royal authority became necessary. An act, passed 15 Henry III., deputes "two Masters of Arts and two honest townsmen as Chancellors to moderate the rigour of covetousness." In 1257, as a further step towards remedying these abuses, we find Hugh Balsham, afterwards Bishop of Ely, founding Peterhouse, "without Trumpington Gate," says Fuller, "near the church of St Peter (since fallen down), from the vicinity whereof it seemeth to be denominated. As yet no revenue was settled thereon: only the students that lived therein (grinded formerly by the townsmen with unconscionable rents for the place of their abode) thankfully accounted themselves well endowed with good chambers and studies freely bestowed on them[1]." The chief relief, however, was obtained by the creation of hostels; of these Fuller enumerates, from the authorities for the period, as many as *thirty-four* as in existence towards the close of the century. Dyer speaks of thirty; Caius says there had been twenty, seventeen of which were in existence in his own time[2].

Establishment of hostels.

The number of the students at this period, if we accept the statements of contemporary authorities, appears surprising. Major, the Scotch historian, speaks of four or five thousand; and we know from his own statement that he resided at Cambridge for a short time, and even attended lectures at Christ's College[3].

Numbers of students.

A prominent feature is also presented at this time in

Religious

[1] Fuller, *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 22.

[2] These discrepancies may be accounted for by the fact that Fuller enumerates as separate hostels some which were only appendages to larger ones.

[3] *Historia de Gestis Scotorum.* But see a still more surprising statement quoted by Wood, *Athen. Ox.* p. 80, to the effect that the number of Oxford students at one time reached to 80,000!

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the religious communities existing in the town. The Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Augustine Friars, the Carmelites and the White Canons, all appear to have had considerable convents: though living in these, they were capable of receiving degrees in the University, and kept their acts like the ordinary students. Fuller draws no flattering picture of their indolence and overbearing conduct, and his description is corroborated by most of the contemporary authorities. Under the pretence of prosecuting their studies and consulting the scanty libraries at the respective hostels, they jostled the poor students from their very bookshelves; and, presuming on the privileges of their order, endeavoured to assert a superiority over the rest, which was far from readily conceded; "so that oftentimes," says the historian, "they and the scholars could not set their horses in one stable, or rather their books on one shelf." To these charges he adds the still graver one of proselytism. "The Franciscans," he says, "surprised many when children into their order before they could well distinguish between a cap and a cowl, whose time in the University ran on from their admission therein, and so they became Masters of Arts before they were masters of themselves. To prevent future inconvenience of this kind, the Chancellor and University made an order that hereafter none should be admitted gremials under eighteen years of age." This measure appears to have produced no small amount of irritation among the religious orders. "I find not," he continues, "what was the issue of this contest, but believe that the University never rescinded their order; though it stands not in force this day, wherein many of younger age are daily admitted[1]."

Orders existing in Cambridge.

Overbearing conduct of the Monks.

Proselytism.

Another source of disquiet was the frequent celebration

Tournaments.

[1] *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 85.

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of tournaments in the vicinity of the town. The account which Fuller gives of these gatherings tends not a little to strip them of that chivalrous and romantic character with which they have so often been invested by the art of the novelist. "They were," says he, "the mothers constantly of misrule, commonly of mischief. Their very use was no better than an abuse, to cover malice under the cloak of manhood and merriment. Many brought personal grudges, some family feuds, into the field with them; fewer returned than went forth as either cut off or intentionally murdered[1]." This evil we find was finally put a stop to by a special act of Henry III., whereby it was forbidden to hold tournaments within five miles of Cambridge. Their demoralizing influences, indeed, must have ill-accorded with the first essentials of academic life; "for being," says Dyer, "performed annually, they brought together all the idle fashionable brutes (and they were very numerous) in the county to Cambridge; and there was left behind not only a reckoning of blood-shedding at the time, but of bickerings and tumults which lasted through the year[2]."

'North' and 'South'.

Towards the close of the twelfth century we find another element of discord. The conflicting schools of Realism and Nominalism were respectively espoused by the Northern and Southern students, between whom feuds had long been rife, and frequent endeavours were made to settle by pitched battles and hard knocks a controversy which has lasted down to the time of Reid and Sir William Hamilton. In the sister University these contests were prolonged for upwards of another century, until they finally reached a culminating point under Duns Scotus and Occam. If to all these sources of disturbance we add the immemo-

[1] *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 21.

[2] Dyer's *Hist. of the University of Cambridge*, p. 63.

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rial hostility between "Town" and "Gown," which at that period was not unfrequently attended by fatal consequences, it can be no matter of surprise that the more studious portion of the community longed for a calmer retreat. A secession to Northampton had already taken place from Oxford, and in 1262 a body of Cambridge students migrated to the same locality. There they endeavoured to found another University. What success might have attended the scheme, had it been left to its own powers of vitality, we can only conjecture; it never, as Fuller humorously remarks, "attained to full Batchelor," for within four years of its commencement the students were commanded by the king to return to their respective Universities[1].

'Town' and 'Gown'.

Migration to Northampton.

Such are some of the most noticeable features in the history of Cambridge before the fourteenth century. The three centuries that followed the foundation of Peterhouse are the period to which all our colleges (with the sole exception of Downing) owe their foundation. Clare, Pembroke, Caius, Trinity Hall, and Corpus Christi, were founded during the fourteenth century; King's, Queens', St Catharine's and Jesus, during the fifteenth; Christ's, St John's and Magdalen, took their rise in the earlier part, Trinity in the middle, Emmanuel and Sidney towards the close, of the sixteenth. But though both royal and private munificence were active in the encouragement of learning, it is to the revival which took place in the time of Erasmus that we have to look for the first indications of a new spirit and anything like a progressive movement.

Period of foundations.

[1] Fears of detriment to the interests of Oxford are alleged as the main reason in the royal mandate: "Nunc autem cum ex relatu multorum fide dignorum veraciter intelleximus quod ex hujusmodi Universitate (si permaneret ibidem) municipium nostrum Oxon. quod ab antiquo creatum est .....non mediocriter læderetur."

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Cambridge studies before the revival of learning.

From the twelfth century, when Odo and Terricus first taught in barns, down to the advent of Erasmus in the sixteenth century, the additions to the subjects of human knowledge and investigation are small indeed. Aristotle and the schoolmen, the Pandects of Justinian and the Canon Law, what the Fathers thought about the Canon Law, the works of Augustine, Tertullian and Chrysostom; —these appear to have comprised nearly all the material of study during this lengthened period. Let us not, however, therefore underrate the mental vigour of that time.

The Schoolmen.

Those who have had the hardihood to grapple with the abstruse subtleties of the schoolmen are those who speak of their labours with most respect. Of the claims of this imperfectly understood class of thinkers and their influence on more modern thought, we shall have occasion to speak more at length hereafter, but while adverting thus briefly to the attention they commanded for so long a period, we cannot but give a passing recognition to the elasticity and vigour with which the human intellect emerged, from its narrow confines and monotonous round, into the broad fields of enquiry which opened before it with the commencement of the sixteenth century. "*Absolutely considered*," says Huber[1], "the mental activity of the twelfth century was much greater than that of more recent times[2], even to so feverish a degree as chiefly to give that age its *unpractical* character. Too vigorous a fancy seized upon and consumed all the materials of knowledge. They vanished under the magical influence of an intellect which converted their most solid substance into 'artificial webs."

[1] Huber's *English Universities*, I. p. 7.

[2] On the diffusion of the scholastic culture throughout the people, cf. Huber, I. p. 84. "To the schoolmen," says Sir W. Hamilton, "the vulgar languages are principally indebted for what precision and analytic subtlety they possess." *Discussions on Philosophy.*

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It was thus that when the new learning at last arose it spread with the rapidity of a flame over a long smouldering mass; and however slight the value we may be disposed to attach to the labours on which the English intellect had up to that time expended itself, it must be conceded that it had rusted not, but was transmitted a weapon singularly bright and keen to the performance of those more glorious achievements which yet awaited it.

The approach of the coming revival was preceded by a marked absence of mental activity in both the Universities. At Cambridge especially, enriched though she had become by numerous foundations, the enthusiasm of an earlier period seems almost to have died away. The speculative philosophy had lost its charms; the number of the students had decreased; and no names of eminence appear in the roll of her teachers. The original cause of the great revolution in her studies which was destined to ensue must be sought in a remote and apparently unconnected event. In the year 1453 Constantinople fell before the Turks[1]. The learned Greeks of that city, who had kept alive the study of their ancient tongue, took refuge in Italy. They brought with them an enthusiasm for classical research which found a ready response, and a familiarity with authors only known to the scholars of Italy by name. Curiosity was excited. The new manuscripts were eagerly purchased and expeditions were undertaken to Constantinople for the sake

Origin of the revival.

[1] Ce n'est donc pas, comme on le répète, l'introduction de la Grèce en Europe au quinzième siècle qui a créé nos arts et notre litterature, car ils existaient déjà; mais c'est en effet de cette source qu'a découlé dans l'imagination européenne le sentiment de la beauté de la forme, particulière à l'antiquité.....Quoi qu'il en soit, et de quelque manière qu'on apprécie l'accident memorable qui a modifié si puissament au quinzième siècle les formes de l'art et de la litterature en Europe, on ne peut nier que ce même accident n'ait eu aussi une immense influence sur les destinées de la philosophie." Cousin, *Hist. de la Phil.* p. 250.

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of rescuing the literary treasures which might yet remain. The efforts of Chrysoloras, Guarino, and John Aurispa, were rewarded with signal success. They returned to Italy laden with manuscripts of inestimable value. Among the authors thus again introduced into Italy, and through Italy into Western Europe, were Plato, Plotinus, Diodorus, Arrian, Dio Cassius, Strabo, Pindar, Callimachus, and Appian. The literature and philosophy of ancient Greece rose from their long sleep to reassert their old supremacy, no longer dimly seen through the medium of half-barbarous Latin versions, but in all the inimitable grace of that matchless diction which first led captive the intellect of Rome.

Erasmus. The accession of Erasmus to the Greek Professorship marks the commencement of the new era in our own University. His letters have preserved to us in an interesting form some valuable traits of the Cambridge life of his day. Fuller has noted with more than his usual humour some of the minor incidents in the sojourn of the lively Dutchman. How high he "kept" at the top of the south-west tower in the old court of Queens'; how he disliked the college ale; how he resented the roughness of the townsmen; how perplexed he was to find copyists to assist him in his labours. His testimony to the new life which had been infused into the studies of the University is worthy of quotation:—

His letters.

His testimony.

"Almost thirty years ago, nothing else was handled or read in the Schools of Cambridge besides Alexander, the Little Logicals (as they call them), and those old dictates of Aristotle and questions of Scotus. In process of time, there was an accession of good learning, the knowledge of Mathematics came in; a new and, indeed, a renewed Aristotle came in: so many authors came in, whose very names were anciently unknown. To wit, it (the University) hath flourished so much that it may contend with the prime

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schools of this age; and hath such men therein, to whom if such be compared that were in the age before, they will seem rather shadows of divines than divines[1]."

His Greek lectures.

In the discharge of his duties as professor we find that Erasmus began by "reading the grammar of Chrysoloras to a thin auditory, which increased when he begun the grammar of Theodorus." "Then took he," says Fuller, "by Grace freely granted unto him, the degree of B.D., such his commendable modesty, though over-deserving a Doctorship, to desire no more as yet, because the main of his studies were most resident on Humanity. Some years after he took upon him the Divinity Professorship place, (understand it the Lady Margaret's) invited thereunto not with the salary, so small in itself, but with desire and hope to do good in the employment."

Jealousy excited by the study of Greek.

As is the case with all innovations upon established routine, the increased attention bestowed upon the study of Greek did not fail to excite the jealousy of some of the more conservative members of the University. Fuller alludes to a report, which, though he denies its truth, sufficiently attests the existence of the feeling it implies, to the effect that some went so far as to withdraw to Oxford, being "Græcitatis hostes," hearty haters of the Greek tongue. They called themselves by the names of doughty Trojans, Priam and Hector, condemning all other for arrogant and perfidious Greeks[2]." Whether, however, Oxford was not the first to revive the study appears to be a disputed point. The author of the *Athenæ Oxonienses* expressly claims the honour in her behalf. Crooke, again, in an oration before the University of Cambridge, *De Græcarum Disciplinarum Laudibus*, maintains the contrary; and it must be admitted that the above anecdote tends to con-

Oxford and Cambridge both claim the priority of its introduction.

[1] *Epistolæ*, Bk. II. 10.

[2] *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 152.

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firm his statement. However this may have been, it is certain that the study of Greek soon became a recognized branch of learning at both Universities. Fuller thus chronicles the changes of the times. "Towards the middle of the sixteenth century the *old learning* began to be left in the University, and a better succeeded in the room thereof. Hitherto Cambridge had given suck with but one breast, teaching Arts only without languages. Her scholars' Latin was but bad, though as good as in any other place; Greek little; Hebrew, none at all; their studies moving in a circle (I mean not, as it ought in a cyclopedia of sciences, but) of some trite school questions over and over again[1]. But now the students began to make sallies into the learned languages, which the industry of the next age did completely conquer[2]." Foremost among the supporters of the new learning comes the honoured name of Roger Ascham, fellow of St John's, and Public Orator. He was ably seconded by Sir Thomas Smith and Sir John Cheke, both of whom successively filled the chair of Erasmus, and of whom Ascham speaks as "the stars of the University of Cambridge, who brought Aristotle, Plato, Tully and Demosthenes, to flourish as notably as ever they did in Greece and Italy[3]." A sufficient proof of the importance to which

Ascham and his supporters.

[1] As a proof of the frivolous character of some of the disputations of the period, we may instance the subjects selected for a controversial passage of arms by two "knights errant" from Oxford, who in the year 1532 voluntarily rode into the lists at Cambridge defying all comers to combat. The first was, "An Jus Civile sit præstantius Medicinâ." The second, "An mulier morti condemnata, ruptis laqueis, tertio suspendi debeat"! So great was the excitement produced, that on the combatants repairing to the schools the doors were broken open by the people. The reader will not regret to hear that the challengers atoned for their temerity, and retired completely worsted from the encounter.

[2] *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 164.

[3] Dyer's *Privileges of the University of Cambridge*, II. Supp. p. 6. In a letter, dated by Baker 1540, Ascham (*Epist.* 74) says of Cambridge,

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the study of Greek had attained, is afforded by the fact that in the reign of Queen Mary we find bishop Gardiner arbitrating in a controversy, the revival of which has more than once seemed imminent in our own day, respecting the pronunciation of the language. "A contest," says Fuller, "began between the introducers of the new and the defenders of the old pronunciation of Greek. The former endeavoured to give each letter (vowel and diphthong) its full sound; while Dr Caius, and others of the old stamp, cried out against this project and the promoters thereof, taxing it for novelty and then for want of wit and experience. John Cheke, Thomas Smith, maintained that this was no innovation, but the ancient utterance of the Greeks, which gave every letter its due and native sound. Otherwise, by the fine speaking of his opposers, vowels were confounded with diphthongs, no difference being made between λιμός and λοιμός. Nor mattereth it if foreigners dissent, seeing hereby we Englishmen shall understand one another. Here bishop Gardiner, Chancellor of the University, interposed his power; affirming Cheke's pronunciation,

Controversy respecting the pronunciation of Greek.

"You would not know it to be the same place.....Aristotle and Plato are read by 'boys' in the original, and have been now for five years. Sophocles and Euripides are now more familiar here than Plautus was in your time. Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, are more often on the lips and in the hands of all than Livy was then. What was then said of Cicero you may now hear said of Demosthenes. More copies of Isocrates are now in the 'boys'' hands than of Terence then. Meanwhile we do not scorn the Latins, but most ardently embrace the best authors who flourished in that golden age. This flame of literary zeal has been lit and fed by the toil and example of our friend Cheke, who has publicly lectured gratuitously on the whole of Homer and Sophocles, and that twice; on the whole of Euripides, and nearly the whole of Herodotus. He would have done as much for all the Greek poets, historians, orators, and philosophers, unless a most unlucky fate had envied us such a happy progress." For further illustrations of this period, see the valuable notes which accompany Mr Mayor's edition of Ascham's *Scholemaster*.

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pretending to be ancient, to be antiquated. He imposed a penalty on all such who used this new pronunciation; which, notwithstanding, since hath prevailed and whereby we Englishmen speak Greek, and are able to understand one another, which nobody else can[1]."

Statutes of Elizabeth.

In the year 1561 were drawn up those famous statutes known as the statutes of Elizabeth, which still constitute the basis of our university code, and of which most of the provisions remain unannulled though many have practically become a dead letter. Prior to the provisions of these statutes there is little legislation that specially calls for remark. In the reign of Henry VIII. (1540), besides the professorship of Greek, four other royal professorships had been founded, those of Divinity, Hebrew, Law, and Physic.

Statutes of Edward the Sixth.

In the reign of Edward the Sixth it appears by the statutes that "the elements of Euclid, the arithmetic of Tunstall and Cardan, together with astronomy, were enjoined as a necessary part of academical education previously to the degree of B.A.[2]" In the reign of Elizabeth we find that four ordinary lecturers were also created, as follows[3]:

Lecturers.

"*One Rethoricke Lecturer*, to read the precepts of Rethoricke in one of the common scholes, in such sorte as is fit for younge scholers at their first coming to the Universitie.

"*One Logicke Reader*, to teache the use of Logicke by public reading in the scholes unto such as are of the second and third year's continuance.

"*One Philosophie Reader*, to read a Philosophie lecture either of morale, politique, or natural philosophie, unto the

[1] *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 171.

[2] Hughes' *Life of Jeremy Taylor*, p. 7.

[3] From a scarce work published at Cambridge in 1769, from a vellum MS. entitled, *A projecte contayninge the state, order, and manner of Government of the Univ. of Cambridge as now it is to be seen in the three and fortieth yeare of the Raigne of our most gracious and soveraigne Lady Queen Elizabeth.*

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Sophisters and Bacchelers of Arte, thereunto resorting by statute.

"*One Mathematical Reader*, to read the arte of Arithmeticke, of Geometrie or Cosmographie or of Astronomy, in such sorte as is fit for his auditory, being also of Sophisters and Bacchelers of Arte."

In the statutes of Elizabeth, the lecturer in Philosophy is directed to give instruction in the Problemata, Ethics and Politics of Aristotle; in Pliny or in Plato. The lecturer on Dialectics is to teach the Elenchi of Aristotle or the Topica of Cicero. The lecturer on Rhetoric is to explain Quintilian, Hermogenes, or some part of the Rhetorical Treatises of Cicero.

Originally, attendance at these lectures was strictly required, but towards the close of the century we find that they were already becoming superseded by the *college course* of instruction. About the middle of the seventeenth century the attendance became so unsatisfactory that the Professors, in some instances, discontinued their lectures, and their professorships became almost sinecures. By the above statutes both the duration and the character of the curriculum of study were also definitely fixed. In apportioning out the time allotted to the different subjects, a seven years' course of study was required before the degree of Master of Arts could be taken. These seven years were divided into the Quadriennium of Undergraduateship and the Triennium of Bachelorship. In the Quadriennium the first year was devoted to Rhetoric; the second and third to Logic; the fourth to Philosophy. In the Triennium the student was still required to attend the public lectures on Philosophy, and to these were added public lectures on Astronomy, Perspective, and Greek.

Indications of a progressive spirit of enquiry.

On the above scheme certain modifications were brought about in the seventeenth century, of which we shall here-

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after have occasion to speak, but the subjects enumerated will serve to shew to what an extent the studies of an earlier period still occupied the foremost place. Already, however, a far more unshackled spirit of enquiry was arising. Of this the great work of Hooker bears evidence on behalf of the sister University; and the *Republic of Bodin* (a work which furnished valuable suggestions to the author of the *Esprit des Lois*) is known to have formed the subject of lectures in our own, a treatise which could hardly have become known to our English youth without begetting a far more liberal conception of political science than had hitherto been attained[1].

There is yet another point which it seems desirable to notice before we close our preliminary remarks. One of the first results of the English Reformation had been that the highest authority in reference to ecclesiastical government was vested in the Crown; the recognition therefore of the royal prerogative in the Church was henceforth a part of political faith and jealously guarded from invasion by the reigning power. To this cause must, in fact, be attributed that watchfulness of the Crown over the Universities observable from this time, a solicitude which, while professing the encouragement of learning, aimed, in the words of Huber, at "diffusing rather a moral influence than an intellectual cultivation[2]." Nor can it be denied that this vigilance was necessary. The Puritan party throughout the realm, and more particularly the Marian exiles, who had returned full of the teachings of Geneva, held widely different views respecting Church government from those which distinguished what we may henceforth term the Episcopalian party. To this element of dissension was added the openly professed Calvinism of the Puritan

Closer relations between the University and the Crown.

The Puritans.

[1] Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, III. 570, 571,

[2] Huber, II. 33.

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section, as opposed to those leanings towards Arminianism which, though not distinctly avowed by the Church, were visible in the teachings of more than three-fourths of her clergy and found favour with the supreme power. To discourage Puritanism, as a species of disloyalty, hence became a primary object with the Crown in the two great seminaries of the Church; the Puritans in turn lost no opportunity of inveighing against State interference and an episcopal form of government. Their dislike of a State-Church was surpassed, however, by their detestation of Rome. For a long time all the ability of Elizabeth and her ministers seemed no more than sufficient to cope with treason at home and invasion from abroad, and upon the stability of her reign depended not only the Puritans' hopes of preserving whatever toleration they had obtained, but also the acquirement of that further religious liberty on which they were intent. It was thus that they were induced to give their support to a government which discouraged them, and that a large section of the more moderate Puritan party remained for the present within the pale of a Church which they were bent on reforming, and submitted to a ritual which they disliked, and listened to doctrines which they disavowed, in the hope that the reforms which had been initiated in a former reign might be completed under more favourable auspices. But though Puritanism lay under the royal disfavour and bold offenders were often punished with summary severity, it must be admitted that the bearing of the Puritan party, in the Universities at least, is hardly that of a down-trodden and persecuted sect. On the contrary, we believe that a careful study of the history of this period will tend considerably to modify the impressions which some historians, from a too picturesque treatment of their subject, have created respecting the general position of the Puritan party during the

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reign of Elizabeth. There was undoubtedly unjust legislation which bore hardly upon them, but of the positive execution of the penalties thereby enforced we hear less than we should have reason to expect. Nearly all Elizabeth's ministers, Cecil, Leicester, Knolles, Bedford and Walsingham had Puritanical sympathies, and lent their party substantial aid[1]. Cecil, especially, than whom few men living probably better understood the state of parties in the University[2], was throughout his life a steady supporter of the Calvinistic party in Cambridge. Thus encouraged, Puritanism shewed a bold front in the University, and throughout the reign of Elizabeth we find repeated instances of some contumacious divine rising in the pulpit of St Mary's[3]

Their boldness in the University.

[1] Sir Walter Mildmay's sympathies were notorious. When he founded Emmanuel College he is said to have been openly taxed by Elizabeth in the following fashion: "Well, Sir Walter, so you have been founding a College for Puritans!" a reputation which the College long retained.

[2] Burleigh, when at Cambridge, was a student of St John's College, and was, we are told, "no less distinguished by the regularity of his life, than by an uncommonly diligent application to his studies. He made an agreement with the bell-ringer to call him up at four o'clock every morning, and this sedentary life brought on a humour in his legs. Dr Medcalf, at this time Master of the College, was his principal patron, and frequently gave him money to encourage him; but the strong passion he had to excel his contemporaries, and to distinguish himself early in the University, was the chief spur to his endeavours. At sixteen he read a sophistry lecture, and at nineteen a Greek lecture, not for any pay or salary, but as a gentleman for his pleasure, and this at a time when there were but few who were masters of Greek either in that College or the University." Peck's *Desiderata*.

[3] As sufficient proof of this important feature I quote the following instances, as given in Cooper and elsewhere[1]. In 1565 one George Withers, M.A. of Corpus, preached a sermon wherein he urged the destruction of all such painted windows in the University as were of a superstitious character (especially those which contained inscriptions relating to prayers for the dead). "Whereupon," says Baker, "followed a great destruction of them and the danger of a greater by some zealots." Withers

[1] Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, Vol. II. 215. MS. Baker, 31, 55.

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to denounce, in language remarkable neither for good taste nor moderation, Episcopalianism, ritualism, popish ceremo-

was ultimately forbidden by the Archbishop to preach[1]." In 1572 Wm. Chark, fellow of Peterhouse, preached a Latin sermon before the University at St Mary's, wherein he asserted that the states of bishops, archbishops, metropolitans, patriarchs and popes, were introduced into the Church by Satan." On refusing to "revoke his errors some Sunday in St Mary's Church," Chark was expelled the University and his College[2]. In 1573 John Millen, M.A., fellow of Christ's College, preached the morning sermon at St Mary's, "wherein he condemned in strong terms the ordination of ministers as used in the Church of England, and especially of such as could not preach. He also denounced as abominable idolatry the observance of saints' days and fasting on the evens of such days." He was cited before the Vice-chancellor, and, on his refusal to retract, expelled the University[3]. In 1587 H. Gray preached a sermon at St Mary's, wherein he asserted that the Church of England maintained Jewish music, and that to play at cards or dice was to crucify Christ; inveighed against dumb dogs in the Church, and mercenary ministers; insinuated that some in the University sent news to Rome and Rheims, and asserted that the people celebrated the nativity as ethnicks, atheists, and epicures[4]." In the same year we read that "William Perkins, fellow of Christ's, in a commonplace delivered in the chapel of that College, condemned the practice of kneeling when the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was received, and of turning the face to the east." On being summoned before the Vice-chancellor, he made an explanation which was accepted[5]. In 1595 William Barrett, M.A., fellow of Gonville and Caius College, in a Latin sermon at St Mary's, appears to have been induced to retort on the Puritan party; he "preached against the doctrines of Calvin with some sharp and unbecoming speeches of that reverend man and other foreign learned Puritans, exhorting the auditors not to read them." He was compelled to make a public recantation[6]. In 1596 the Rector of Shepehall in Herts, preaching at St Mary's, asserted (1) "That the use of humanity and humane arts and profane authors *in sermons* was altogether unprofitable and unlawful; (2) That not the tenth part of the ministers of the Church of England were able ministers or teachers, but dumb dogs; (3) That a curate being no preacher was no minister, nor did edify more than a boy of eight years old might do[7]." Strype, speaking of Cartwright,

[1] Cooper's *Annals*, II. 215.
[2] *Ibid.* II. 312.
[3] *Ibid.* II. 319.
[4] *Ibid.* II. 429.
[5] *Ibid.* II. 430.
[6] *Ibid.* II. 529.
[7] *Ibid.* II. 566.

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nies and adornments, and to preach up the doctrines of predestination and election. At last, in the year 1603, a grace passed the Senate which declared that whoever should publicly contravene the teachings or discipline of the Church of England, or any part thereof, by speech or writing, should be debarred from proceeding to any degree, (ab omni gradu suscipiendo excludatur[1]). From this time a long interval succeeds during which we hear of no doctrines essentially Puritan being proclaimed from the pulpit of St Mary's. The instances, however, adduced in the preceding note, are sufficient proof of the vitality of Puritanism in the University. That spirit which the iron rule of Elizabeth could not quell rose again with fresh vigour under her successor. The stern morality of this school derived new strength from the buffooneries and dissoluteness of the court of James. The prestige of a Church whose supreme power ordained that the *Book of Sports* should receive the sanction of her pulpits was lowered in the eyes of all sincerely religious men; and it must be owned that it henceforth appears as the misfortune rather than any part of the strength of the Church of England that her reputation seemed necessarily, to some extent, involved in that of her temporal head.

who was expelled from the University, says, "whether it were out of some disgust for not being hitherto preferred, or out of an admiration of the discipline practised in the church of Geneva, or both, he set himself, *with some other young men in the University*, to overthrow the government of this Church, and propounded a quite different model to be set up in the room of it."

[1] *University Transactions during the Puritan Period.* By Heywood and Wright. Vol. II. 202.

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CHAPTER II.

CAMBRIDGE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

In the preceding chapter we have briefly indicated some of the more important phases in the history of our University before the seventeenth century. We have seen the lamp of learning burning with unsteady flame amid the rude blasts of a semi-barbarous age; we have marked the rise and the decline of the scholastic philosophy and the revival and extension of classical learning; we have seen the different foundations created and enriched by noble or royal munificence; we have seen the University rising in political importance, and the ties that bound her to the throne becoming closer and stronger; and, finally, we have shewn how her religious tenets gradually assumed that specific character which was destined to impart so definite a bias to her teachings and to the character of many of her sons.

Imperfect as this retrospect has necessarily been it may yet prove serviceable in enabling us better to realise her position at the commencement of the seventeenth century, by assisting us more clearly to discern the influences in her midst which were at that time either coming into operation or already on the wane. We must now proceed to the main object of our enquiry—the studies chiefly cultivated at the period, and the influences legitimately attributable to them. Let us then step back some two centuries, and endeavour to reproduce to our mental vision

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Two hundred and thirty-five years ago.

the Cambridge of those days. We shall miss many a noble structure as we move through her streets; we shall meet here and there some familiar face, which the painter's canvas has preserved to posterity; and we may mark not a few, in the humble garb of a studious undergraduateship, destined to leave to their countrymen a bright example and to win a deathless fame. We see Milton, with his maiden face, hardly on the best terms with the authorities at Christ's, but already gaining credit by his epigrams and exercises; Fuller, the future Church historian, the quaint humorist, to whom is reserved the task of chronicling with filial affection the history of his own Alma Mater; Henry More, the Platonist, a "tall thin youth, of clear olive complexion and a wrapt expression;" Seth Ward, my future lord bishop, his flaxen hair and boyish stature winning, sadly to his own discomfiture, the attention of grave seniors whenever he ventures beyond the walls of Sidney; Cleveland, the satirist, and Crashaw, the sweet lyric poet, both already giving promise of their future powers; Pearson, the interpreter of the faith to many a succeeding generation; Cudworth, destined to a foremost place in philosophic thought; Mede, now a senior fellow at Christ's, deep in astrology and Apocalyptic studies; Jeremy Taylor, just elected to his fellowship at Caius; all these, two hundred and thirty-five years ago, might probably have been met on the same day in the streets of Cambridge.

College routine and methods of instruction.

The routine of daily college life at that time differed in some important respects from that which now exists. The bell for morning chapel rang at five o'clock, and to the service was sometimes added a short homily by one of the fellows. Chapel was followed by an early breakfast, and then came the work of the day. In addition to private study with the tutor, this consisted of attendance at

(1) The college lectures,

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(2) The lectures of the university professors,
(3) The disputations of those students who were preparing for their degrees.

Of these different modes of instruction we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter. The morning's work was followed by dinner in hall, this was at twelve o'clock. After "hall" it was customary to attend again at the declamations and disputations, which were held either in the college chapel or at the schools. After this, with the exception of evening chapel and supper in hall, which was at seven, the students employed their leisure as they chose. "Originally," says Mr Masson[1], "the rules governing the daily conduct of the students at Cambridge had been excessively strict. Residence extended over the whole year; and absence was permitted only for very definite reasons. While in residence, the students were confined closely within the walls of their respective colleges, leaving them only to attend in the public schools. At other times they could only go into the town by special permission; on which occasions no student below the standing of a B.A. in his second year was suffered to go unaccompanied by his tutor or by a Master of Arts. In their conversation with each other, except during the hours of relaxation in their chambers, the students were required to use either Latin, or Greek, or Hebrew. When permitted to walk into the town, they were forbidden to go into taverns or into the sessions; or to be present at boxing-matches, skittle-playings, dancings, bear-fights, cock-fights and the like; or to frequent Sturbridge fair; or even to loiter in the market or about the streets. In their rooms they were not to read irreligious books; nor to keep dogs

[1] *John Milton in Connexion with the History of his Time.* By David Masson, Vol. I. p. 112.

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or 'fierce birds;' nor to play at cards or dice, except for about twelve days at Christmas, and then openly and in moderation." However undesirable so lengthened and uninterrupted a residence may now appear, as was then required, it must be admitted that the influence of the University upon her graduates must have been proportionably strengthened. During the seven years' curriculum necessary for the degree of Master of Arts, which were in most cases the seven years which precede the coming into man's estate, we see them subjected to a series of consecutive influences of uniform tendency, the importance of which can hardly be overrated. Some of the provisions above enumerated will now only provoke a smile; but it must be recollected that the average age of the students at admission[1] was then probably not over fourteen, and it is evident that a far more rigorous system of discipline was consequently not only justifiable but necessary. Thus we find that corporal punishment was not unfrequently administered, and that too, publicly, before the college. Johnson, in his life of Milton, states that the poet was probably one of the last on whom this degradation was inflicted[2]. From this discredit Milton's latest biographer endeavours to clear him, but it may be doubted whether he has fully succeeded; of the poet's rustication there is no manner of doubt.

Age of admission.

Among students of so tender an age we are prepared for traits which otherwise, even though viewed at such a distance, would certainly clash somewhat forcibly with our notions of academic propriety. There is an amusing letter,

Characteristics of undergraduate life.

[1] The statutes of Elizabeth do not appear to have rescinded the enactment of the reign of Richard II. (see p. 9), but it had long been a dead letter. Milton was 16 on entering; Seth Ward, 14; Matthew Robinson, 17; Nicholas Ferrar only 13.

[2] Masson's *Life of Milton*, Vol. I. pp. 113, 136.

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quoted by Mr Cooper in his *Annals*, from the tutor of the Earl of Essex, written in 1577, to a "Mr Robert Broughton of the Inner Temple, London," (whom we infer to have been the supervisor of the young nobleman's university expenses), representing the Earl's "extreme necessitie of apparell." "Men mervayle," says the writer, "that his gret want is not supplied," and adds that unless necessary steps be taken his pupil "shall not only be thrid bare but ragged[1]." "You may gather that I have small solace with being here," writes Joseph Mede to Sir Martin Stuteville in 1632, when the plague had frightened nearly all the residents from Cambridge; and after detailing some of his privations he adds, "We have but one M.A. in our college; and this week he was punished 10*d.* for giving the porter's boy a box on the ear, because he would not let him out at the gates." Whatever amount of respect the statutes of Elizabeth may have originally commanded it is certain that a serious laxity of discipline is observable at the commencement of the next century. Smoking had become so general a habit that, on King James' visit in 1615, orders were issued to forbid the practice, not simply in the streets, but *in St Mary's and the Hall of Trinity!* Many of the undergraduates in that day wore, we are told, "new fashioned gowns of any colour whatsoever, blue or green, or red or mixt, without any uniformity but in hanging sleeves; and their other garments light and gay, some with boots and spurs, others with stockings of divers colours reversed one upon another, and round rusty caps." Occasional extravagances and acts of petulance, or even open disregard of the "Royal Counterblaste," are, however, matters of no great significance; but Sir Simonds D'Ewes, writing as a fellow-commoner at St John's in the

Testimony of Sir Simonds D'Ewes.

[1] Cooper's *Annals*, II. 353.

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year 1620, draws a more serious picture of university life and manners as they appeared to him at that period[1]. "But the main thing which made me even weary of the College was, that swearing, drinking, rioting, and hatred of all piety and virtue under false and adulterate names, did abound there and generally in all the University. Nay, the very sin of lust began to be known and practised by very boys, so that I was fain to live almost a recluse's life, conversing chiefly in our own College with some of the honester fellows thereof. But yet no Anabaptistical or Pelagian heresies against God's grace and providence were then stirring, but the truth was in all public sermons and

[1] We say "as they appeared to him," for notwithstanding D'Ewes' unimpeachable respectability as a witness, it is evident that partly from the austerity of his principles, and partly from constitutional timidity, he mixed but little with the great mass of his fellow-undergraduates. The consequence was that his opinion of them was less favourable than it might otherwise have been; he generalised perhaps too readily from what little he knew; every outbreak of youthful spirits appeared to the timid lad pregnant with mischief and insubordination, nor is it very likely that the knowledge of his decidedly Puritanical opinions at all tended to repress the exhibition of boisterous tendencies among his fellow-students when he was within hearing. Making due allowance for these considerations there are substantial reasons for accepting his evidence. His diary was probably revised long after he left Cambridge, and may therefore be supposed to convey his deliberate impressions; his social position and sources of information were good, and incline us to look upon his views as those which an educated and intelligent English gentleman of the period, sensible of the evils of the time and desirous of moderate reform, would probably have taken. What such men as Hampden, Digby, Capel, Palmer, Hyde and Falkland would have said of Cambridge is probably very much what D'Ewes did say. Another fact which seems to place his testimony beyond suspicion is the certainty that his autobiography was not intended to meet the public eye; it was rather, as his eminent editor has remarked, meant to be an heir-loom in his family, to preserve their illustrious ancestor in the memory of his descendants. The considerations we have urged will therefore tend but slightly to modify an impression which, it must be confessed, is far from a pleasing one.

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divinity acts asserted and maintained. None then dared to commit idolatry by bowing to, or towards, or adoring the altar, the communion table, or the bread and wine in the sacrament of the Lord's supper. Only the power of godliness, in respect of the practice of it, was in a most atheistical and unchristian manner contemned and scoffed at[1]." If we are disposed to accept this as a correct representation of the standard of morality that prevailed at Cambridge at the commencement of the seventeenth century, we can feel but little surprise that among men of sincerely religious views and thoughtful character such a state of things went far towards producing that re-action of feeling which a few years later was attended with such important results. How, amid so uncongenial an atmosphere, Puritanism still grew and strengthened, until even the heads and seniors of different colleges made no scruple of openly avowing their sympathies, may be best learned from a paper submitted to Laud, in 1636, by Dr Cosin, the Master of Peterhouse, and Dr Sterne, Master of Jesus College. Instead of the use of the Liturgy, they complain, "we have such private fancies and several prayers of every man's own making (and sometimes suddenly conceiving too) vented upon us, that besides the absurdity of the language directed to God himself, our young scholars are thereby taught to prefer the private spirit before the public, and their own invented and unapproved prayers before the Liturgy of the Church." In Trinity College, it is stated, "they lean or sit or kneel at prayers, every man in a several posture as he pleases; at the name of Jesus few will bow; and when the Creed is repeated, many of the boys, by some men's directions, turn *to the west door*."

Evidence of Cosin and Sterne.

There is an apparent incongruity in this language with

[1] Halliwell's *Life of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, Vol. I. p. 141.

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that of D'Ewes which calls for a brief explanation, nor will the lapse of sixteen years sufficiently account for the difference implied in the two accounts; D'Ewes speaking of extreme ritualism as being *as yet* unknown in the University,—Cosin and Sterne using language which implies that at a later day, ritualism, so far from gaining ground, was falling into increased contempt. The solution of this apparent contradiction is to be found in the innovations which Laud had been endeavouring to introduce into the ceremonial of the Church of England, and a brief retrospect of the principal changes at work within the Church, before his accession to the primacy, will perhaps best explain the views and feelings of the two religious parties into which the country was at that time divided, and how it came to pass that differences, trivial, apparently, in comparison with many which we have witnessed in our own day, grew into a warfare at one time imperilling the very existence of the Church herself.

State of Religious Parties throughout England, from 1609—1625.

It is remarkable that the religious dissensions which began again to distract the University, after the death of James, do not appear to have originally turned upon doctrinal differences. The millenary petition presented to that monarch by the Puritan party, on his accession to the throne of England, is occupied rather with matters of ritual and internal reform than with matters of conscience. Only one clause, which petitions that in future no subscription be required from ministers, except to the Thirty-nine Articles and the king's supremacy, appears to refer to doctrinal points of an essential character. The millenary petition failed entirely in its object, though it served to rouse the spirit of the Episcopalian party, and in the Convocation of 1603—4 were passed the famous 141 Canons which settled, until the disturbances in the reign of Charles, the constitution of the Church. In 1604 Whitgift had

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been succeeded by Bancroft as primate of all England. Bancroft asserted with rigour the authority of the Church, and his severity towards Nonconformists soon became productive of deep-seated discontent. His death in 1610, and the accession of Abbot to the primacy, allayed the feeling. Abbot was distinguished chiefly by his hatred of popery; for mere matters of discipline and ritual he manifested an indifference which he scarcely cared to disguise, while he openly professed his Calvinistic leanings, and the Puritan party again took heart. An accident which befell this primate became the cause of his retirement from publicity and the active duties of his office, and the Lord Keeper Williams, bishop of Lincoln, now appears as the ruling spirit in the Church. The policy of this remarkable man, of whom we shall again have occasion to speak, was one of conciliation; his opinions were generally supposed to coincide with those of the archbishop, but he was, his biographer informs us, "the least distasted, so far as I have known men, among all his profession with a scholar that was divers from him in a theological debate."

Lord Keeper Williams.

In the year 1619, the decisions of the Synod of Dort lent new strength to Calvinism in England. The king, himself, had openly evinced his favour towards those decisions, in the known views of the divines whom he had selected to represent the English Church at the Synod. The Arminian or Episcopalian party began to take alarm; it appeared probable that the influences of the crown might henceforth run directly counter to those of the preceding reign; a new element was, however, soon discernible in the royal calculations, and the hopes of the Calvinists fell once more. Whatever course James might have felt inclined to adopt upon an abstract view of so important a question of doctrine, the preservation of his prerogative in the Church was a matter of paramount importance, and it was

Synod of Dort.

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Policy of James.

precisely on this point that the Puritan party failed him. The king, the head of both Church and State, was a doctrine admitted in full force only by the Episcopalians, who upheld in all their completeness the hierarchical institutions of the English Church. Expediency, therefore, appears to have prevailed over mere theological considerations; the king forgot his theology, and turned his back on the party which he had recently seemed to favour, and divines of Arminian views, and in some instances of popish tendencies, were frequently admitted to his presence and honoured by preferments. Another element in his calculations tended to still further estrange him from the Puritan party. The negotiations for the Spanish match were at this time pending, and with a view to conciliating the Spanish government, the English monarch proceeded to mitigate the rigour with which popish recusants were, at that time, treated in England. He ordered their general discharge from prison; and it was soon apprehended that all the penal laws in force against them might be rescinded. The excitement throughout the country was intense. The Calvinistic clergy descanted from their pulpits to sympathising audiences on the errors of Rome, and especially on the necessity of the famous "five points," to wit, Election, Redemption, Original Sin, Irresistible Grace, and the Perseverance of the Saints. The Episcopalian party replied—not indeed by arguments on points which had received such elaborate investigation, and in reference to which the Head of the Church stood himself so expressly committed, but by a method of attack which carried the war into the enemy's camp—by dissertations on the royal authority and the evils of Nonconformity. The ardour with which these recriminations were carried on attained at last a pitch which seemed to James to call for interference, and he directed Williams to draw up a paper

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of "Directions to Preachers," copies of which the archbishop should cause to be forwarded to all the bishops for distribution throughout their dioceses. Though one of the deputies at Dort, Williams appears to have drawn up this document with no unwilling hand. His great desire was to reconcile parties and adjust their differences, and polemics of such a character could, he well knew, only widen the breach. The "Directions" forbade that preachers under the degree of a bishop or a dean should handle such "deep points," but ordered that they should confine themselves to the Creed or the Commandments, and that the afternoon's exercise on Sunday should be devoted to the examination of children in their catechism. They forbade any discourse "which should not be comprehended and warranted in essence, substance, effect, or natural inference, within some one of the Articles of Religion set forth in 1562, or in some of the Homilies set forth by authority of the Church of England[1];" and they forbade "bitter invectives and indecent railings, speeches or scoffings against the persons of either Papists or Puritans."

The Directions to the Clergy.

It is amid the excitement produced by the "Directions," that Laud first appears as assuming a prominent part on the stage of public affairs. Whatever may have been the private virtues of this prelate, they are lost to the eye of the historian in the blind obstinacy and overbearing policy which marked his official career. Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the views which he held, there can be but one respecting the methods by which he sought their enforcement. To the intolerance of Wentworth in politics he presented the counterpart in matters ecclesiastical. Moderation, forbearance, charity, and mercy itself, were forgotten when once he conceived the

Archbishop Laud.

[1] Hacket's *Life of Williams*, p. 90.

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interests of the Church to be at stake. From the day when he first gained the ear of Buckingham and grasped the reins of power, all hopes of conciliation and compromise between the contending religious parties faded away[1]. The earnest and thoughtful youth of the Puritan party, saw, like John Milton, the gates of the Church closed upon them; stout-hearted leaders of the moderate party, like John Williams, prepared for the contest which they felt to be inevitable. Such then, in brief, were the changes that marked the course of religious feeling in England during the first quarter of the seventeenth century; of the extent to which our own University participated in the agitation, of how these dissensions divided her colleges, influenced her studies, and moulded the character of her youth, we shall find ample evidence as we proceed.

Facts confirmatory of D'Ewes' evidence.

To return to Cambridge: it must be admitted that subsequent facts tend strongly to confirm the statements of Sir Simonds D'Ewes. One of the earliest steps taken by the first parliament of Charles, within ten years after D'Ewes left Cambridge, was to petition for University reform. That short-lived parliament was dissolved before

[1] Though this is not the place to discuss the character of Laud, I may perhaps be allowed briefly to note the influence he exerted on his times and on the course of religious thought. Dispassionate students of this period will probably be inclined to view his character with feelings equally removed from praise and from contempt. No one acquainted with his *life*, will fail to recognize the discrimination with which he encouraged merit, his unswerving integrity of purpose, his energy, his munificence. On the other hand, he will feel that little can be said in defence of Laud's odious eavesdropping, and his cruelty of disposition. Fuller, in his Church History, states that Laud always seemed eager to give a keener edge to the severity of the Star Chamber. No one, again, familiar with the *period*, but must admit that the archbishop's fondness for non-essentials in matters of ceremonial, his readiness to risk all rather than concede a single point, and his intolerance in matters of opinion, resulted in a policy equally disastrous to himself and the Church he sought to serve.

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any measures could be carried, but in the University a decree was passed in the December of the same year, by the Vice-chancellor and Heads of colleges, the regulations of which could only be interpreted as implying the previous existence of grave irregularities[1]. The next February a second parliament was to be convened, and, before again meeting the commons, the king, who was sorely in need of supplies, which he found it impossible to raise on his own authority, deemed it expedient to take the initiative. The Earl of Suffolk, as Chancellor, was accordingly desired to communicate with the Vice-chancellor and Heads of houses, and direct them to meet and consider "what are or have been the true occasions of this general offence at their government[2]." The earl forwarded the letter to Dr Gostlin, the Vice-chancellor, imploring him and the heads, generally, to "put all their brains together and be all of one mind, as one entire man, to bring home that long-banished pilgrim Discipline."

Causes of demoralization.

The cause of so much demoralization may probably be traced to various sources, among which the licentious example of the court was undoubtedly not the least. In the present day, when a free press and the force of public opinion necessitate some outward observance of morality and decorum, we are apt to overlook the extended influence for good and for evil which royalty at that time possessed, an influence which is attested by half the literature of the period. At the Universities these effects of royal example were especially discernible. It was the fashion at that time, in the hyperbolical diction of the day, to typify the supreme power as the sun, and learning and the arts as tender plants, which could not flourish unaided by that luminary's bright regards. Royalty itself was approached

Court influence.

[1] Cf. Cooper's *Annals*, III. 182.

[2] Masson's *Life of Milton*, p. 132.

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as a great centre of learning, round which such minor lights as the University could show might be permitted reverentially to revolve. The adulation of philosophers and poets at the court of Augustus, of the Ptolemies, or even that of Dionysius, was left far behind. It was reserved for the seventeenth century to behold the genius of Racine withering beneath the royal frown, and the discussions of our gravest synods dying away, in a "quaver of consternation," at the rebuke of an English queen. On the occasion of a royal visit this adulation outdid itself. Those who wish to see an illustration of the oratory and character of the proceedings on such occasions at that time, will find both amusement and instruction in Nichols' *Royal Progresses;* from one of which we have given, in a subjoined note, a few extracts[1].

[1] The visit of Elizabeth in 1564 affords a fair specimen. The following is the account of the address delivered by the Public Orator, and the manner of its reception:—"Kneeling upon the first step of the west door," which was all hung around with verses, he made his oration, which occupied nearly half an hour in delivery. "And first of all," says the narrator, "he praised and commended many and singular virtues set and planted in her Majesty. Which her Highness not acknowledging of, she shaked her head, bit her lips and her fingers; and sometimes broke forth into passion and these words, Non est veritas, et utinam ——." The orator passed on to the "laudation of virginity," whereupon the Queen observed, "God's blessing of thyne heart: there continue." At the conclusion, "she much commended him, and much marvelled that his memory did so well serve him, repeating such diverse and sundry matter;" and finally excused herself from replying in Latin, "for fear she should speak false Latin, and then they would laugh at her." The visit of James, in 1615, is marked by less servility of demeanour. On this occasion, Chappell, famous for his powers of disputation, was elected to oppose Roberts of Trinity (afterwards bishop of Bangor) in a Public Act before the king. The subject was some moot point between popery and protestantism, and Chappell, we are told, pushed Roberts so hard "that he (Roberts) fainted." Whereupon royalty itself assumed the functions of the παράδρος, but with no better success. James, however, so far from evincing displeasure, had the magnanimity to "openly profess his joy at finding a man of so great talents so good a subject."

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Dramatic performances.

An important feature in the university life of this period is presented in the dramatic performances then so prevalent, and the licence thus undoubtedly fostered will not unnaturally suggest itself as a combining cause in the production of that want of discipline which, we have seen, prevailed. The practice as still existing in the Westminster Plays of the present day, will give but a faint idea of the manner in which the youth of the University found diversion in the seventeenth century. From the specimens we possess we may infer that these performances frequently approached nearer to the treatment of Aristophanes than of Menander. The following, for instance, is Fuller's account of a performance which smacks strongly of the old Attic comedy:—

"The young scholars (1597) conceiving themselves somewhat wronged by the townsmen, betook them for revenge to their wits, wherein lay their best advantage. These having gotten a discovery of some town privacies from Miles Goldsborough, one of their own corporation, composed a merry but abusive comedy, which they called 'Club-Law,' *in English*, as calculated for the capacities of such whom they intended spectators thereof. Clare Hall was the place wherein it was acted; and the mayor, with his brethren and their wives, were invited to behold it, or rather themselves abused therein. A convenient place was assigned to the townsfolk (rivetted in with scholars on all sides) where they might see and be seen. Here they did behold themselves in their own best clothes (which the scholars had borrowed) so livelily personated their habits, gestures, language, lieger-jests, and expressions, that it

"He (Isaac Barrow) is said to have been a great enemy to those pieces that were written for theatrical representation in his days; thinking, and not without reason, *that they were a principal cause of the licentiousness then prevalent.*"—*Life by Hughes*, p. 87.

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was hard to decide which was the true townsmen, whether he that sat by or he that acted on the stage. Sit still they could not for chafing, go out they could not for crowding, but impatiently patient were fain to attend till dismissed at the end of the comedy."

The plays, it appears, were generally written and acted by members of the University. Fellows of colleges contributed their pens, and undergraduates and bachelors their histrionic talent. They were sometimes, as we have just seen, in English, but more frequently in Latin, Latin too which would have puzzled Plautus quite as much as he ever puzzled a fourth-form boy. No royal visit, nor, indeed, that of any distinguished personage, was considered complete without one or more of these performances, which generally succeeded the festivity of the banquet. Mede's account of the bringing out of the *Fraus Honesta*, written by Philip Stubbe, a fellow of Trinity, on the visit of Lord Holland and the French ambassador in 1616, gives us some idea of the character of the proceedings at these academic Saturnalia. The great hall of Trinity was the place of performance, and on such occasions could be arranged so as to accommodate two thousand persons. The undergraduates and bachelors were "the gods" of the theatre, and on their approval or disapprobation the fate of the play generally hung. They smoked, hissed, threw pellets, and set the proctors at defiance. Stubbe's production appears to have had only partial success; but sometimes there would be a decided hit, and the play was printed, and became known throughout the country. One play, for instance, entitled *Ignoramus*, written by Ruggle, a fellow of Clare, so captivated King James, that he is said to have visited Cambridge a second time in order to see it again. Another, entitled *The Return from Parnassus, or the Scourge of Simony*, acted at St John's College, in 1602,

'Ignoramus.'

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appears really to possess considerable merit. Hawkins, in his *Origin of the English Drama*, gives the following outline of the plot[1]:—

'Return from Parnassus.'

"Several students of various capacities and dispositions leave the University in hopes of advancing their fortunes in the metropolis. One of them attempts to recommend himself by his publications; another to procure a benefice by paying his court to a young spark named Amoretto, with whom he had been intimate at college; two others endeavour to gain a subsistence by successively appearing as physicians, actors and musicians; but the man of genius is disregarded, and at last prosecuted for his productions; the benefice is sold to an illiterate clown; and, in the end, three of the scholars are compelled to submit to a voluntary exile; another returns to Cambridge as poor as when he left it; and the other two, finding that neither their medicines nor their music would support them, resolve to turn shepherds, and to spend the rest of their days on the Kentish downs." The play is chiefly remarkable for the criticisms it contains on contemporary authors, and some of these evince both discrimination and power. The following is on Spenser:—

"A sweeter swan than ever sung in Po;
A shriller nightingale than ever blest
The prouder groves of self-admiring Rome.
Blithe was each valley, and each shepherd proud
While he did chant his rural minstrelsy.
Attentive was full many a dainty ear;
Nay hearers hung upon his melting tongue,
While sweetly of the Faery Queen he sung;
While to the water's fall he tuned her fame,
And in each bark engraved Eliza's name."

Marlowe, Jonson, and Shakspeare are shortly after brought in for criticism, and their merits compared with those of

[1] Hawkins' *Origin of the English Drama*, Vol. III. p. 14.

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the university dramatists. Sentence is given in the following bluff language: "Why, here's our fellow Shakspeare puts them all down; ay, and Ben Jonson too." A decision which posterity has not reversed.

General standard of dramatic literature.

In extenuation of the generally low character of the performances it must be remembered that the standard of the dramatic literature of the day was far from high. The plays of Massinger and Ford, notwithstanding their merits, are now almost unreadable from their grossness and the

Heywood.

nature of their subjects. Heywood, who was a fellow of Peterhouse, is said to have been the author, in whole or part, of no less than 220 plays. Of these only twenty-three have reached us, of which one, *The English Traveller*, is still sometimes quoted for the exquisite absurdity

Shirley.

of some of its scenes. Shirley, who took his Master's degree at Cambridge, was so singular in the general purity of his compositions, that the Master of the Revels, when licensing his "Young Admiral" for performance, entered on his books an express commendation of the play on account of its freedom from "oaths, profaneness, or obsceneness." Whatever superiority Shirley obtained in this respect, it was not maintained in the general merit of his productions, which are deficient both in power and pathos. "No very good play," says Hallam, "nor possibly any very good scene, could be found in Shirley: but he has many lines of considerable beauty."

Charles Lamb's estimate of the period.

An exquisite critic, the late Charles Lamb, has spoken of the dramatists of this period as "a great race, all of whom spoke nearly the same language, and had a set of moral feelings and notions in common." With all deference to the estimate of so eminent a judge, respecting a branch of literature with which his acquaintance was almost unrivalled, it may be doubted if his predilections have not biassed his judgment. But whatever may be our

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opinion of the dramatic literature of that time, there can be but one respecting the concomitants that attended its production on the stage. Of the grossness, the vice, and the profanity that then disgraced the most fashionable London theatres, the theatres of the present day give, happily, no idea; and it may reasonably be asked whether the licence and folly characteristic of those academic performances, to which we have alluded, were not calculated to produce in the minds of the youth of our University a longing for scenes which nearly every moral writer of that time has stigmatised with unsparing severity? The opinion of Isaac Barrow we have already quoted. Milton has left his sentiments with respect to the matter on record in hot burning words, which, familiar though they may be, will bear a fresh perusal[1]:—"But, since there is such necessity to the hearsay of a tire, a periwig, or a vizard, that plays must have been *seen*, what difficulty was there in that, when, in the colleges, so many of the young divines, and those of next aptitude to divinity, have been seen so oft upon the stage, writhing and unboning their clergy[2] limbs to all the antic and dishonest gestures of Trinculoes, buffoons, and bawds, prostituting the shame of that ministry which either they had or were nigh having to the eyes of courtiers and court-ladies, with their grooms and mademoiselles? There, while they acted and overacted, among other young scholars, I was a spectator: they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools; they made sport, and I laughed; they mispro-

Milton's criticism.

[1] *Apology for Smectymnus*, Works, III. 267.

[2] Among the actors in the play of *Ignoramus*, previously mentioned, was John Towers, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, who sustained the part of "Dullman." Many years after, when King James first heard the Bishop preach at Castle Abbey, he recognised one of the actors in his favourite play. See Kennet's *Chronicle*, p. 244.

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nounced, and I misliked; and, to make up the Atticism[1], they wore out, and I hissed[2]."

D'Ewes' opinion.

D'Ewes intimates his opinion in less forcible but sufficiently intelligible language:—"On Monday, March the 19th" (1632), he writes, "the King and Queen came from Newmarket to Trinity College. Whilst they were at an idle play there *that gave much offence to most of the hearers*, I went into Trinity College library, and there viewed divers ancient manuscripts, which afforded me as much content as the sight of the extreme vanity of the court did sorrow[3]." Something of the same feeling may be supposed to have roused Nicholas Ferrar, in his last moments, to give instructions that a large quantity of books, which he had kept under lock and key for many years, should be committed to the flames[4]. "They were," says his biographer, "*comedies*, *tragedies*, love-hymns, heroical poems, novels, and the like." Prynne, in his *Histriomastix*, will be found to extend his censures to *Academical Interludes*, the "unlawfulness" of which is "briefly discussed."

Studies of the period.

From the foregoing sketch of Cambridge discipline and general life at the commencement of the century, we shall pass to a somewhat more detailed enquiry into the studies of the time. Of the original division of the course of study into the Quadriennium and Triennium we have already spoken, and it will now be our object, as far as we are able, to ascertain the precise character of the instruction which the University imparted. It is to be observed,

[1] ἐχόρευες ἐγὼ δ' ἐχορήγουν· ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἠκκλησίαζον· ἐτριταγωνίστεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν· ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον. Demosthenes *de Corona*. Reiske, p. 315.

[2] See also an interesting paper in Mr Kingsley's *Miscellanies*, entitled "Plays and Puritans."

[3] *Life of D'Ewes*, II. 67.

[4] *Life*, by Dr Jebb, p. 256.

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then, that considerable modifications on the Elizabethan statutes had already taken place. From the twelve terms of residence originally required during the Quadriennium, one term had been struck off; this alteration had been made in 1578, when it was decreed by the Vice-chancellor and Heads, that all students should be enrolled on the university register, and take the oath of matriculation[1], within a stated period, from their first residence in their respective colleges; it was also ordered that all who had thus matriculated "before, at, or upon, the day when the ordinary sermon *ad Clerum*, is, or ought to be made, in the beginning of Easter term[2]," and who should be proved by the Commons books of their colleges to have resided regularly, should be held to have discharged their Quadriennium in the fourth Lent following the said sermon. Some time prior to 1681, another term of residence was dispensed with, but this was probably not before the latter half of the century.

Innovations on the Statutes of Elizabeth.

In the order of study alterations had also taken place. Greek and geometry, which had formerly been reserved for the Triennium, were now introduced into the undergraduate course. The lectures delivered within the college has become a much more important feature, while those delivered by the university professors had, as we have before seen, ceased to command much attention, and had probably in some instances died out altogether.

College arrangements.

The following account of the arrangements for tuition in Trinity College will serve to show the extent to which the present system already prevailed. Under one head lecturer were eight other lecturers, each of whom taught and examined an hour or an hour and a half daily. These eight lecturers were as follows:—

[1] Dyer's *Privileges of the Univ. of Cambridge*, I. 282.

[2] *Ibid.* I. 330.

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The lector Humanitatis, sive linguæ Latinæ, who also gave weekly lectures on Rhetoric; the lector Græcæ grammaticæ; the lector linguæ Græcæ; the lector Mathematicus; and four sublectores, under whom the students advanced gradually from elementary logic to the higher parts of logic and to metaphysics. It is remarkable that D'Ewes, who is at some pains to chronicle his course of study at John's, makes no mention of lectures there, but it may fairly be presumed that a similar system was in force.

Slight attention paid to mathematics.

The mathematics involved in the above course were probably extremely slight. Arithmetic, a little geometry, and such astronomy as was then taught, being perhaps nearly all. It is not, indeed, until the latter part of our enquiry that the study assumes any prominence as an *academic influence*. It was not until three years after the Restoration that Henry Lucas founded the professorship, which still bears his name; and it was not until half a century later that the science began to command the general attention of the University.

Seth Ward's account.

In 1634, Seth Ward, having lighted on some old mathematical works in the library of Sidney, was unable to find any one in the college who could assist him to understand them. "The books," says his biographer, "were Greek, I mean unintelligible, to all the fellows[1]."

Bacon's estimate. Logic.

The attention now bestowed on mathematics was then engrossed by logic—the logic of Aristotle, with the commentaries of the schoolmen. Nor were there, as yet, any signs of the approaching revolution. Bacon, half a century before, had left the University full of contempt, less for Aristotle than for the puerilities by which the study of that author was accompanied; he subsequently gave expression to his conviction that the "gravest of sciences" had "degenerated into childish sophistry and ridiculous

[1] *Life of Seth Ward*, by Dr Walter Pope, p. 10.

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affectation," while he pleaded for the recognition of the sciences and a generally wider range of study[1]. Milton had echoed his language in his college exercises[2], doubtless with the hearty concurrence of not a few of his associates; but the hold of the study on Cambridge remained unshaken. The only modification as yet introduced was one which could scarcely be considered progressive in its character. We allude to the new school of Ramus. Of the character of this writer's theories most students will probably be content to gain their information second-hand. "He endeavoured," we are told[3], "to turn all physical science into the domain of logic;" while raising the standard against Aristotle, "he argued from words to things still more than his opponents." Bacon, much as he despised the frivolities of the old school, disliked Ramus still more[4]. Untenable, however, as the theories of the Ramists were ultimately shown to be, they found great favour with the Lutheran communities, and the contests between the new school and the Aristotelians agitated the learned world for nearly a century; a proof of that impatience of the authority of Rome, which had begun to extend to the studies more especially under her patronage.

Milton's opinion.

Ramus's Logic.

Rhetoric and logic, pure and applied, accordingly appear as the leading studies of the period, accompanied by no

[1] "Even Aristotle himself, that idol of scholastic disputants, was studied only through the mist of his translators and commentators; the number of whom became multiplied to such a degree that Patricius reckons up near 12,000 about the end of the 16th century." Hughes' *Life of Barrow*, p. 60.

[2] Milton's *College Exercises*, No. III.

[3] Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, II. 368.

[4] He calls him, in his treatise *De Interpretatione Naturæ*, "pernocissima literarum tinea," "ignorantiæ latibulum." Milton appears to have compiled a summary of this author after leaving college; but we have evidence that Ramus's Logic was sometimes studied in the earlier part of the Quadriennium. See Clarke's *Lives*, 235.

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Theology.

inconsiderable attention to classics. When we naturally turn to ask what place theology occupied in the curriculum of an age which produced more eminent divines than any other period of our history, we are surprised to find that as a subject of college instruction there is no evidence of any provision existing for its cultivation[1]. It would appear not improbable that, at a time when such intensity of feeling prevailed in relation to certain religious tenets, it was deemed the more prudent course not to introduce what might prove an element of discord into the daily routine of instruction. Not a few of the colleges were distracted by party differences which it might have been impossible to restrain within bounds, if the teachings of Calvin or Arminius had once been allowed to become the subject of authoritative treatment in the lecture-room. At the same time we cannot reasonably doubt that theology frequently, if not systematically, found a place in those private studies, prosecuted by the tutor with his pupils, to which we have already had occasion to advert, as forming an important part in the college tuition of the time. It must be remembered that the connexion of tutor and pupil in those days implied what it no longer implies, the giving and receiving of instruction. The system continued up to a comparatively recent period. The younger Pitt, for example, his biographer tells us, was rarely out of his tutor's company. The influence which an able and energetic tutor might thus bring to bear upon the impressible youths by whom he was surrounded, can hardly be over-estimated. The biographies of the period frequently refer to it. "I know," writes Francis Gardiner in 1646, to Sancroft, his son's tutor, "I expect no impossibilities, though perhaps somewhat more than ordinary, as I confess (on your encouragement) I do from you.....Above all my desire is,

Functions of the tutor.

Francis Gardiner.

[1] See Huber, II. 72.

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that Sundays, fast days, and the like, may have their particular employment in divine studies, besides his constant reading the Scriptures each morning and evening, which how he follows and understands, if you please sometime to question him, will soon be discerned[1]." "Lately," says a writer, speaking of Chappell, who was fellow of Christ's during Milton's residence there, "there sprung up a new brood of such as did assist Arminianism, as Dutch Tompson of Clare Hall, and Mr William Chappell, fellow of Christ's College; *as the many pupils that were arminianized under his tuition show*[2]." In the life of Nicholas Ferrar by his brother, we are told that when his tutor would sometimes express to his pupil his open admiration of his singular self-denial and temperance, the pupil would pleasantly reply, "Nay, tutor, you are to answer to God for this. Why did you commend unto me (being so young at college as I was) to read the lives of all the holy men of old time, and saints of God, the good fathers of the Church, and of those good men in our later times, even in the Church of England, the saints and holy martyrs[3]?" Of Whichcot we read, that "he studied to raise those who conversed with him to a nobler set of thoughts, and to consider religion as a seed of a deiform nature, (to use one of his own phrases). In order to this, he set young students much on reading the ancient philosophers, chiefly Plato, Tully, and Plotin, and on considering the Christian religion as a doctrine sent from God, both to elevate and sweeten human nature, in which he was a great example, as well as a wise and kind instructor[4]." Respecting Henry More, his biographer gives the following account:—"A

Chappell.

Ferrar's evidence.

Whichcot.

Henry More.

[1] Cary's *Memorials*, I. 151, 152.
[2] *British Biography*, Vol. IV. 448. See also Fuller's *Worthies*.
[3] *Life of N. Ferrar*, by his Brother, p. 92.
[4] Burnet's *Own Time*, Vol. I. 311, 312.

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very sober person, and quondam pupil of his, told me what pains he would take with those under him; and amongst other things, what excellent lectures he would deliver to them of piety and instruction from the chapter that was read on nights in his chamber[1]." Sufficient evidence has, however, been adduced to show that, if we fail to recognise the instruction communicated and the training imparted by intercourse of this kind, we shall omit from our consideration a very important phase of the discipline and studies of that time, wherein the influence exerted was certainly little likely to prove less effective because divested of much of that formality which usually marked the relations of the teacher and the taught.

Ethics.

Of Ethics, D'Ewes tells us that his tutor read to him "Gelius and part of Pickolomineus." He appears to have also studied the Ethics of Aristotle; besides these authors, Ward names Daneus, Scultetus, Amesius, and Aquinas, as in use[2].

Disputations at the schools.

The crowning test of excellence consisted in the public disputations at the schools, and the less formidable ones in the college chapel. As there was at that time no Tripos, these disputations were the only occasions on which members of different colleges were pitted against each other. Very trying ordeals they must have been to shy, unready youths, such as D'Ewes, wherein everything depended on promptitude, assurance, and nerve. "Mine own exercises," he says, "performed during my stay here, were very few, replying only twice in two philosophical acts: the one upon Mr Richard Salstonstall in the public schools, it being his bachelor's act; the other upon Mr Nevill, a fellow-commoner and prime student of St John's College, in the chapel. My declamations also were very rarely

[1] *Life*, by Ward, p. 191.

[2] *Vindiciæ Academicæ*, p. 21.

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performed, being but two in number; the first in my tutor's chamber, and the other in the college chapel." The extent to which the exercises of this palæstra were carried appears to modern notions almost absurd. The most distinguished men of the University frequently engaged in them, and with an ardour which seems puerile, when we recollect that the exhibition was really worthless in respect to the results attained, and simply represented a passage of arms between two accomplished masters of fence, wherein all the laws and bye-laws of a rigorous logic were mercilessly enforced. The enthusiasm elicited by one of these encounters when taking place between antagonists of much reputation, almost equalled that which in modern times a contest for the champion's belt excites in the admirers of the ring. Haddon, in a letter to Dr Cox, speaking of a public disputation held by Sir Thomas Smith at a Cambridge Commencement, uses the following language: "Had he (Dr Cox) been there he would have heard another Socrates; that he caught the forward disputants as it were in a net with his questions; and that he concluded the most profound cases of philosophy with great gravity and deep knowledge." The subjoined account of one of these intellectual wrestling-matches will perhaps furnish as good a specimen as we could adduce. On the marriage of the princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine in 1611, the royal pair honoured Cambridge with a visit, it having been determined by James that his son-in-law should be "received for a conclusion with an Academical Entertainment." "The Scholastical Dissertations," says bishop Hacket, "were the *work* of the day, the Church of St Mary being scaffolded for that use." A kind of Commencement extraordinary was decided upon in honour of the illustrious visitors. "Dr Richardson, the King's Professor in Divinity, to manage the chief place in the chair;

Interest they excited.

Hacket's description.

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Dr Davenant to moderate in the Theological Disputation; and Mr Collins to answer upon three Questions." Williams, afterwards archbishop, was selected as opponent; being chosen, in his absence, as "a most select antagonist for this Conflict." On the appointed day, "the place was filled with the most Judicious of this whole Island: and some of the Attendants of the *Palgrave* so Learned, that One might stand for many, *Plato* alone for Ten Thousand[1]..... Dr *Richardson* (Agmen agens lausus, magnique ipse agminis instar) began first with his grave *Nestorean* Eloquence, and having saluted Prince *Charles*, the great expectation of our future Happiness, τῆς διαδοχῆς κλάδος, as G. Nyssen calls Isaac, the *Branch of Succession;* and having blessed his Serenity the Prince Elector the Bridegroom with Solemn Votes and Wishes to be added to his *Hymeneal* Joys, then he called forth the Son of his right-hand, Mr *Samuel Collins*, (created *Doctor* at this Commencement) to stand in the gap, and to maintain the Truth in three *Theses* against all assailants. He was a firm Bank of Earth, able to receive the *Shot* of the greatest Artillery. His works in print against *Eudæmon* and *Fitzherbert*, Sons of *Anak* among the Jesuits, do noise him far and wide. But they that heard him speak, would most admire him. No Flood can be compared to the Spring-Tide of his Language and Eloquence, but the milky River of *Nilus*, with his seven Mouths all at once disemboguing into the Sea. O how voluble! how quick! how facetious he was! What a *Vertumnus*, when he pleas'd to Argue, on the right side, and on the contrary! These Things will be living in the memory of the longest Survivor that ever heard him. In this Trial, wherein he stood now to be judged by so many Attic and Exquisite

[1] Hacket's *Life of Williams*, Part I. 26.

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Wits, he striv'd to exceed himself, and shew'd his Cunning marvelously, that he could invalidate every Argument brought against him with variety of Answers. It was well for all sides, that the best Divine in my Judgment, that ever was in that place, Dr *Davenant* held the Rains of the Disputation; he kept him within the even Boundals of the Cause; he charm'd him with the *Caducæan* Wand of Dialectical Prudence; he order'd him to give just Weight and no more. Horat. l. 1, *Od.* 3. Quo non Arbiter Adriæ major tollere, seu ponere vult freta. Such an Arbiter as he was now, such he was, and no less, year by year, in all Comitial Disputations; wherein whosoever did well, yet constantly he had the greatest Acclamation. To the close of all this Exercise I come. The grave elder Opponents having had their courses, Mr *Williams*, a new admitted Bachelor of Divinity, came to his Turn last of all. Presently there was a smile on the face of every one that knew them both, and a prejudging that between these two there would be a Fray indeed. Both jealous of their Credit, both great Masters of Wit, and as much was expected from the one as from the other. So they fell to it with all quickness and pertinency, yet (thank the Moderator) with all candour; like *Fabius* and *Marcellus*, the one was the *Buckler* the other the *Sword* of that learned Exercise. No Greyhound did ever give a Hare more turns upon *Newmarket* Heath, than the Replier with his Subtleties gave to the Respondent. A fit subject for the Verse of Mr *Abraham Hartwel* in his Regina Literata, as he extols Dr Pern's Arguments made before Queen Elizabeth: *Quis fulmine tanto tela jacet? tanto fulmine nemo jacet.* But when they had both done their best with equal Prowess, the Marshall of the Field, Dr *Davenant*, cast down his Warder between them and parted them."

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Classical studies.

The researches of young classical students appear to have extended to authors which a private tutor of the present day would probably look somewhat coldly upon, when viewed in connection with the Tripos. "I afterwards finished Florus," writes D'Ewes[1], "transcribing historical abbreviations out of it in mine own private study; in which also I perused most of the other authors, and read over Gellius' *Attic Nights*, and part of Macrobius' *Saturnals*."

D'Ewes' account.

"I was, during the latter part of my stay at Cambridge, for most part a diligent frequenter of Mr Downes' Greek Lectures, he reading upon one of Demosthenes' Greek Orations, *De Coronâ;* of whom I think it fit to take occasion in this place to transmit somewhat to posterity....He had been Greek professor in the University about thirty years, and was at this time accounted the ablest Grecian of Christendom, being no native of Greece, which Joseph Scaliger himself confessed of him long before, as I was informed, having received an elaborate letter from him, upon some discontent taken by him against him[2]." The following is D'Ewes's account of a private visit to the Greek professor:—"He entertained me more familiarly and lovingly than before, and offered me that kindness again which he had done at my late being with him, to read to me and some other gentlemen a private lecture in his house; but my small stipend my father allowed me, affording no sufficient remuneration to bestow upon him, I excused myself in it, telling him that I was shortly to depart from the University, and therefore it would be in vain for me to enter upon any further course for the attaining of the Greek tongue, in which I could not attain any exact knowledge without many years' study[3]."

Downes.

Barrow.

It is only too probable that Downes's allurements to

[1] *Life of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, I. 121.
[2] *Ibid.* 139.
[3] *Ibid.* 141.

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learning met generally with but poor success. Some forty years later we find that the lectures of the Greek professor failed to attract even an audience. "I sit," says Barrow, "like an Attic owl driven out from the society of all other birds[1]." An attempt which he made to introduce the Greek tragedians to the attention of his scanty auditory met with so little encouragement that he was compelled to fall back on Aristotle[2]: "Egimus ego et Sophocles meus in vacua Orchestra; defuit illi etiam τριταγωνιστής, chorus affuit nullus, ne quidem puerorum; qui canentibus accinerit nemo erat, nec qui saltantibus applauderet, nec qui obstreperet loquentibus.....Superest ut in unum Aristotelem spes nostræ velut in sacram anchoram reclinent: ut ad Lyceum ceu ad arcem Sophiæ munitissimam, portum studii certissimum, aram disciplinæ, confugiamus."

Extent of reading would seem to have excluded or left but small leisure for authors which now engross so much of the student's attention. No mention appears to be made of Thucydides as a college subject during this period, while Theophrastus was discussed from the professorial chair: Æschylus is rarely quoted, and Pindar, though we find an edition by Erasmus Schmidt appearing in 1619, still less. I find no instance of the employment of Lucretius as a class-book[3]; and, had there existed the scholar-

[1] *Oratio Sarcasmica in Schola Græca. Opusc.* IV. 111.

[2] *Ibid.* 115.

[3] "I have sent," writes Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward, in 1676, "by Mr Bickerdik, Lucretius his six bookes, *De Rerum Natura*, because you lately sent me a quotation out of that author, that you might have one by you to find out quotations which shall considerably offer themselves at any time. Otherwise I do not much recommend the reading or studying of it, there being divers impieties in it, and 'tis no credit to be punctually versed in it; it containeth the Epicurean naturall philosophie." Sir T. Browne's *Works*, Vol. I. 209.

The edition of Lambinus, published in 1564, does not appear to have done much for the study of Lucretius until Creech popularised his labours

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ship and taste necessary to the appreciation of his mastery over the Latin tongue at the period of its greatest vigour, it may be doubted whether his philosophy would not have outbalanced the claims of his splendid genius. Of the inimitable beauties of the Latin poets of the præ-Augustan school there is not a glimpse of anything like adequate recognition: the rhetorical strains of Lucan, on the other hand, were so generally admired, that Thomas May, in 1633, published a supplement to the *Pharsalia*, carrying the history down to the death of Cæsar. It is certainly no injustice to this continuation to say that, though not without some happy passages, it hardly reaches even the level of the original. Indeed, if we except the names of Meric Casaubon, Milton, Herbert, Barrow, and Duport, it is

Thomas May.

in 1695*. Spenser, indeed, who was a sizar at Pembroke, and who evinces throughout his great poem an intimate acquaintance with both the Aristotelian and the Platonic philosophy, has sufficiently proved his familiarity with the Roman poet by an almost literal translation of the fine passage at the commencement of the first book (see *Faerie Queen*, IV. 10, 44); while Bacon, in his *Essays*, shows a like acquaintance with an author whom he doubtless found a more congenial spirit than Aristotle. Among the sermons of John Smith of Queens' also (see p. 90) are two, marked by considerable learning and argumentative power, expressly directed against the philosophy of Lucretius; and in Evelyn's *Diary*, May 12, 1656, we have the following entry: "Was published my essay on Lucretius, with innumerable errata, by the negligence of Mr Triplet, who undertook the correction of the press in my absence." [Editor's note:—"A translation into English Verse of the first book only."] There is also to be met with a very amusing translation by the celebrated Mrs Lucy Hutchinson.

Scholarship, as opposed to mere learning, certainly declined in England as in France during the century which followed the reign of the Scaligers. (See Munro's *Lucretius*, Introd. pp. 11—13.) Textual criticism, the great arena of modern scholarship, was, at this period, held in something like contempt.

* "Note here, Lucretius dares to teach
As all our youth may learn from Creech"—
Prior's *Alma*, Canto I.

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doubtful whether we could point to any scholar in England during the earlier part of the century, who possessed that refined form of scholarship represented in the present day by so nice a sense of the beauties and delicacies of Greek and Latin verse. With regard to Casaubon,

Versification. Meric Casaubon

οὔ τι τόσος γε ὅσος Τελαμώνιος Αἴας,
ἀλλὰ πολὺ μείων,

though his scholarship appears unquestionable, it was devoted to another field of labour. Milton, indeed, stands in Milton.
almost painful contrast to his University from his superiority in this as in more important traits. "His Latin poems," says Mr Hallam, "are in themselves full of classical elegance, of thoughts natural and pleasing, of a diction culled with taste from the gardens of ancient poetry, of a versification remarkably well-cadenced and grateful to the ear." Herbert, though deficient in neatness, shows a George Herbert.
facility and smoothness in this department of composition which could only have been attained by long familiarity with the best models and considerable practice. The same remarks will apply to Barrow's verse[1], of which Barrow.
Hallam says, it is "forcible and full of mind, but not sufficiently redolent of antiquity." Of his Latin prose we shall hereafter have occasion to give a specimen; though full of vigour and evincing a complete mastery over the

[1] We meet however with such inaccuracies as "pollicĕ spiritum," &c. His Greek verses it seems almost ungenerous to criticise when we recollect that they appeared at a time when the canons of the Iambic metre were so imperfectly understood; but the following stanzas will sufficiently show that his acquaintance with the laws of Greek prosody was not much superior to that of Le Clerc himself:

Μῆτερ, γυναικῶν αἴγλη, ἀνθρώπων ἔρις,
Ὀδύρμα Δαιμόνων, Θεοῦ γεώργιον,
Πῶς νῦν ἀφίπτασαι, γόου καὶ κινδύνου
Ἡμᾶς λιποῦσα κυκλόθεν μεταιχμίους. κ.τ.λ.

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language, it certainly cannot be denominated as Ciceronian[1].

The enthusiasm of the period, for such it really was, was directed rather to the subject matter than the style; and that, again, was estimated quite as much from a theological as a classical point of view. Barrow's admiration of Chrysostom, for instance, probably outweighed his attachment for the whole range of Latin poetry, and his unpublished manuscripts, still preserved in the library of Trinity College, abound with quotations from the whole range of patristic theology. An amusing instance of the average

[1] We meet, for instance, with the frequent use of such words as "sultis," "effulminans," "cordicitus," "jugiter," "proficuus."

Mr Hallam (*Hist. of Lit. of Europe*, I. 516) gives a list of all the books instrumental to the study of Greek at the close of the preceding century. It is with some reluctance that I have arrived at the conclusion that the account given by Lord Macaulay of the *general* proficiency of Cambridge students in classical learning during the reign of Charles the Second, though exaggerated in *detail*, is just as a *whole*. No evidence, it is certain, can be adduced of more authority than Barrow's; and his language can only be taken as implying that during the first half of the century there had been a manifest decline in the attention bestowed on classics. No stress can be laid on *isolated* instances, nor even on the attainments of the translators of our Authorized Version. To one indeed of these we are indebted for evidence of a directly opposite character. Boyce, who was admitted to St John's in 1575, tells us that "his father had educated him in the Greek tongue before his coming, which caused him to be taken notice of in the college. For besides himself there was but one there that could write Greek. Three lectures in that language were read in the college. In the first, grammar was taught as is now commonly done in school. In the second, an easy author was explained in the grammatical way. In the third was read somewhat which might seem fit for their capacities who had passed over the other two. A year was usually spent in the first, and two in the second." (Peck's *Desiderata*, p. 327.) Patristic literature seems to have commanded a greater attention than that of classic Greece or Rome. By far the most splendid edition of a Greek author during this period was that of Chrysostom, published in 1612, by Sir Henry Savile, the provost of Eton. It was in eight volumes, each volume costing, it is said, upwards of a £1000. (Beloe's *Anecdotes*, v. 103.)

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amount of critical capacity possessed at this period is to be found in Dr Walter Pope's *Life of Barrow*, appended to the *Life of Seth Ward*. Pope was originally a student at Trinity, but afterwards migrated to Oxford. He was so fortunate as to be honoured by the friendship of both Ward and Barrow, to whom he appears to have played much the part that Boswell did to Johnson, and he vindicates his claim to the acquaintance of two such eminent men by the analogy of Horace and Mæcenas. As far as Horace is concerned some readers may possibly be disposed to question the justice of the comparison. Barrow, it appears, possessed, like Milton, the discrimination and taste (itself no mean mark of scholarship) to set a high value on Ovid. "The greater part of his poems," says Dr Pope, "were written in Hexameter and Pentameter verses, after the manner of Ovid, whom he had in great esteem, preferring him even before the Divine Virgil; I have heard him say, that he believed Virgil could not have made the *Metamorfosis* so well as Ovid has, concerning which there have often been betwixt us several sharp but not bitter disputes." Stimulated by the example of his illustrious friend, Dr Pope appears to have made one or two private attempts himself in elegiac verse composition, but, judging from his tone, we should fear with only indifferent success. He felt very probably the want of "Bland" and the Gradus ad Parnassum, and still more of that facility which rarely comes in after life. "It is next to an impossibility," he exclaims somewhat sulkily, "to write either good sense or Latin in that sort of metre, wherein so many hobbling dactyls knock against one another." Unsuccessful in his efforts at rivalling Ovid, Dr Pope next betakes himself to undermining the poet's reputation. Barrow, being by this time in his grave, was not likely to take up the cudgels or to feel offence. We are accordingly favoured with a speci-

Dr Pope.

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men of Mr Pope's critical sagacity. Some dozen feeble lines are selected from different parts, and the careless elegancies of the Latin poet are subjected to an ordeal of a solemn and ponderous nature; a very butterfly is broken on the wheel; we seem to see some clodhopper inspecting Titania's veil. The following example will probably suffice our readers:—

Ovid, introducing a description of the Milky Way, characterises it in the following very passable couplet;—

"Est via sublimis, cœlo manifesta sereno
Lactea nomen habet, splendore notabilis ipso."

"'Tis evident," says Dr Pope, "that 'lactea' ought to be in the same case with 'nomen.' Whereas had he made the verse thus he might have mended it;—

'Nomen habens a lacte et lactis nota colore,'"

with which exquisitely Ovidian hexameter we take our leave of the ingenious critic.

We come, then, to the conclusion that the classical culture of this period was characterised rather by learning than by scholarship. The colloquial jargon that, under the name of Latin, was spoken on every public and formal occasion, and the extent to which authors very remote from a pure style of either Greek or Latin were studied, may sufficiently explain the fact. With the commencement of the century the standard of classical elegance and purity seems rather to have declined when compared with that attained by Erasmus and Buchanan. What, however, the scholarship of the time lacked in exactness and refinement it gained in erudition. Many a competent classical scholar of the present day has rarely inspected authors just known to him by name, which were then perused and re-perused with ardour. Of the very marked effects of these studies, and their influence on the religious and philosophic thought of the time, we shall speak more fully in another place.

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CHAPTER III.

INFLUENCE OF CAMBRIDGE STUDIES DISCERNIBLE IN THE CHARACTER AND WRITINGS OF DISTINGUISHED GRADUATES DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I. *Influence on Manner.*

THE preceding chapters, though necessarily limited in their treatment of the subject, will have enabled us to form some estimate of the general character of the studies of our University at the commencement of the seventeenth century; we have now to enquire what fruit those studies bore, and to endeavour to trace their influence, as far as it may be legitimately inferred, in the character and writings of the most distinguished graduates of the time. Among the most noticeable, though not the most important, of these effects, is one which will readily occur to every student, however superficially versed in the literature of that day—the *mannerism* to which these studies gave rise. A wide rather than an accurate range of reading being then the first ambition of the classical student, it was his next object to impress upon his readers or hearers the extent of his researches. Nor were his auditory generally so far on terms of equality with himself that his learning might safely rely for its recognition on the spirit which it infused into his discourse, and the halo of classic wisdom which it threw around his thoughts. A century later, the

Mannerism of the period.

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poet Gray, whose attainments were probably little inferior to those of Selden or Barrow, could pen stanzas wherein breathes in almost every line the influence of the richest stores of the lyric and dramatic genius of Greece, and letters which irresistibly recall to us the grace of Cicero, the epigrammatic diction of Pliny, and the philosophic tones of Seneca, with scarce a direct quotation or allusion throughout, in the tranquil assurance that the classic air, unseen but felt, which pervaded every page, would not fail to meet with the recognition of that chosen circle whose appreciation was all he cared to gain. Such was not the privilege of the learned writers who adorn the first half of the seventeenth century. The enthusiasm, indeed, which at that time actuated the study of the learned tongues, was widely different from, though we may doubt whether it exceeded, that of the English scholar of the present day. The reasons are obvious. In that literature the writers of the period found—not simply the links which bind the present to the past, the records which still preserve, often, it is true, with a beauty that time has dimmed, but still with inimitable grace of form and outline, creations of human thought destined to immortality, and the fashions of a civilization which can never return—but they found also their credentials of belief, their authorities for opinion, and the standards to which they had been taught habitually to refer for models of taste and expression. Nor was this all. It has been urged of late, by some of those who condemn the large amount of attention still bestowed on classical studies, that the value of classical learning must inevitably diminish as the results of modern discovery and thought continue to progress: its value may remain positively the same, but relatively it must decrease. Without stopping to examine how far this theory will hold good, we may safely assume that its converse is undeniable.

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In proportion as we find our literature dwindle in importance and extent, as we retrace its growth during the last three centuries, so do the languages of Greece and Rome assume a correspondingly higher value. It was not merely that they embodied, at the period we are now considering, nearly all that was accepted as authoritative in opinion and excellent for example, that Latin was moreover the recognised medium of communication among the learned throughout Europe; but the literature of our own tongue could not then, as now, afford in many respects a compensating store of instruction and delight to those who were debarred from a direct acquaintance with the treasures of antiquity. It is impossible, perhaps, in the present day to adequately realise a time, when not simply the constant stimulus of newspapers and magazines was wanting, but the greater part of that literature of which we as a nation are so justly proud was still unborn; when Chaucer and Spenser were as yet the only really national poets; when Shakspeare and Ben Jonson were slowly rising into notice; when the Inductive Philosophy, although attracting attention, was far from commanding deference or assent; when, throughout the long list of divines who adorn our Church and still live in their influence on posterity, Hooker is almost the only name that had as yet appeared. The only modern literature indeed of any recognised value at that time was the Italian, and it is needless to point out of how little avail that literature would then be to the majority of our forefathers.

Such considerations as these will serve to explain how it was that so great a value, often indeed a fictitious and mistaken one in its conception, became gradually associated with the study of Greek and Latin. Those languages were then the outward and visible sign of a mystic community, the Urim and Thummim of a sacred priesthood, a

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shibboleth studiously imitated by all who claimed fraternity with the order. Under such circumstances, the temptations to what would now appear mere pedantry and ostentation, were, it must be admitted, considerable. Hence we find the euphuism of an earlier period supplanted by the innumerable quotations and allusions which mark the learned productions of this age. In the school of Cambridge divines which then began to flourish, and whose real learning often thus found felicitous expression and scope for illustration, this feature is singularly prominent. The writings of Jeremy Taylor, Fuller, and bishop Hacket, may be named as fair specimens of a style in which the passion for quotation had at last grown into a positive vice[1]. Butler, with his usual power, has characterised it as

Fondness for quotation.

> A Babylonish dialect
> Which learned pedants much affect;
> It was a party-colored dress
> Of patch'd and piebald languages;
> 'Twas English cut on Greek and Latin,
> Like fustian heretofore on satin.

Jeremy Taylor. The sermons which Taylor delivered at Golden Grove, must indeed, we imagine, have filled the more homely portion of his audience with feelings not unlike those to which the simple Athenian citizen, in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, gives vent, when he hears the big-sounding diction which the satirist puts into the mouth of the great philosopher,

ὦ Γῆ τοῦ φθέγματος, ὡς ἱερὸν καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ τερατῶδες.

In the sermon on the "House of Feasting," for instance, one of his finest efforts, we have, besides allusions in-

[1] This excess of quotation was far from being peculiar to the pulpit. Lord Coke boasts with no little complacency that he has illustrated the knotty points and subtle distinctions of the law, with 300 extracts from the Mantuan bard!

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numerable, no less than *ninety-five* quotations in Greek and Latin, gleaned from the whole range of classical and patristic literature. The following quotation, in itself sufficiently noteworthy, may be taken as no unfair specimen of some of the loftier flights of the pulpit oratory of that time. After descanting on the effects of intemperance on the man who becomes its victim, the orator thus proceeds[1]:— His pulpit oratory.

"So have I seen the eye of the world looking on a fenny bottom, and drinking up too free draughts of moisture, gathered them into cloud, and that cloud crept about his face, and made him first look red, and then covered him with darkness and an artificial light; so is our reason at a feast,

> Putrem resudans crapulam
> Obstrangulatæ mentis ingenium premit.

The clouds gather about the head, and according to the method and period of the children, and productions of darkness, it first grows red, and that redness turns into an obscurity and a thick mist, and reason is lost to all use and profitableness of wise and sober discourses; *ἀναθυμίασις θολωδέστερα οὖσα ἐπισκοτεῖ τῇ ψυχῇ*, 'a cloud of folly and distraction darkens the soul,' and makes it crass and material, polluted and heavy, clogged and laden like the body: *ψυχὴ κάθυδρος ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου ἀναθυμιάσεσι καὶ νεφέλαις δίκην σώματος ποιουμένη*. And there cannot be anything said worse, 'reason turns into folly, wine and flesh into a knot of clouds, the soul itself into a body,' and the spirit into corrupted meat; there is nothing left but the rewards and portions of a fool to be reaped and enjoyed there, where flesh and corruption shall dwell to eternal ages; and therefore in Scripture such men are called *βαρυκάρδιοι*. Hesternis vitiis animum quoque præ-

[1] Taylor's *Works*, edited by Hughes, Vol. I. 292, 293.

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gravant: their heads are gross, their souls are emerged in matter and drowned in the moistures of an unwholesome cloud; they are dull of hearing, slow in apprehension, and to action they are as unable as the hands of a child, who too hastily hath broken the inclosures of his first dwelling. But temperance is reason's girdle and passion's bridle; *σῶα φρόνησις*, so Homer in Stobæus; that is *σωφροσύνη*: 'prudence is safe,' while the man is temperate; and therefore *σώφρον* is opposed *τῷ χαλίφρονι*, 'a temperate man is no fool;' for temperance is the *σωφρονιστήριον*, such as Plato appointed to night-walkers, a prison to restrain their inordinations; it is *ῥώμη ψυχῆς*, as Pythagoras calls it: *κρηπὶς ἀρετῆς*, so Socrates; *κόσμος ἀγαθῶν πάντων*, so Plato; *ἀσφάλεια τῶν καλλίστων ἕξεων*, so Iamblichus; it is 'the strength of the soul, the foundation of virtue, the ornament of all good things, and the corroborative of all excellent habits.'"

The rhetorical power of this passage and the force and aptness of the quotations, will, to no small extent, justify a diction and a style resembling some piece of antique embroidery, stiffening with jewels and with gold; but it must be owned that but few possessed the genius that could bear up under such massive and over-wrought magnificence. The quotations of not a few of the inferior writers of the time are almost ludicrous from their irrelevancy; serving but little to illustrate the author's meaning or enforce the weight of the sentiment, "they lie," to use the fine simile of Sheridan, "like lumps of marl on a barren moor, encumbering what it is not in their power to fertilize[1]." It would be erroneous, however, to infer that many of the

[1] Milton, himself no slight mannerist, characterised these productions as "a paroxysm of citations, pampered metaphors, and aphorisming pedantry."

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writers of this period ventured on flights equally bold, or the cultivation of so marked a mannerism as this "Shakspeare of divines." He was perhaps the greatest mannerist among the theologians of his day; no slight assertion when we consider the character of his age; and it must be confessed that his extravagances have done much to discourage with ordinary readers the modern study of his works. He is now best known to fame by his *Holy Living and Dying;* a work which, however admirable, cannot be considered an adequate specimen of his claims to rank as a great British classic; his reputation in this respect must always rest mainly on his sermons; and the following criticism on these, by his most recent editor, will commend itself by its justice and discernment to all familiar with his works:—

Hughes's criticism.

"Their tone and style and matter arose, in a considerable degree, out of the wants and desires of the age, pressing on a genius peculiarly calculated to satisfy them. Long political harangues had been so mixed up with religious topics, in those disastrous times; the 'drum ecclesiastic' had been made so powerful an instrument to inflame popular enthusiasm, that men still demanded the prolixity of discourse, the fervour of zeal, and the energy of expression to which they had been long accustomed. Moreover, a show of learning was then so much in vogue, on the old principle of 'ignotum pro horrifico,' that if a preacher was not a *Latiner*, the most brilliant talents could hardly save him from contempt. Hence we find, in Taylor's discourses, that superabundance of quotation, which not only illustrates his subject at times with extraordinary felicity, but oftener disfigures it with impertinent allusion. Hence, in some degree, arises that immeasurable, indiscriminating copiousness, which piles image on image, example on example, illustration on illustration, till the mind,

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after having been delighted, becomes bewildered by the interminable succession of ideas. Hence, that aggravated zeal and impetuosity, which sometimes stimulates him to such daring heights, to such violent and portentous creations of fancy, as startle us by their absurdity, and occasion us to withhold our sympathies, even when he appears most passionately to demand them."

South's criticism.

So marked, indeed, were his peculiarities, that they occasionally elicited severe criticism even from contemporary writers. We are indebted to a writer in the *Eclectic Review* for the suggestion that the following passage, from one of the sermons of Dr South, seems in all probability aimed at Jeremy Taylor. "'I speak the words of soberness,' said St Paul. And I preach the Gospel not with the 'inticing words of man's wisdom.' This was the way of the Apostle's discoursing of things sacred. Nothing here of the 'fringes of the north star;' nothing of 'Nature's becoming unnatural;' nothing of 'the down of angels' wings,' or 'the beautiful looks of cherubim;' no starched similitudes, introduced with a 'Thus have I seen a cloud rolling in its airy mansion,' and the like. No, these were sublimities above the rise of the apostolic spirit; for the Apostles, poor mortals! were content to take lower steps, and to tell the world, in plain terms, that 'he who believed should be saved, and that he who believed not should be damned.' And this was the dialect which pierced the conscience and made the hearers cry out, 'Men and brethren, what shall we do?' It tickled not the ear, but sunk into the heart; and when men came from such sermons, they never commended the preacher for his talking voice and gesture, for the fineness of such a simile, or for the quaintness of such a sentence: but they spoke like men conquered with the overpowering force and evidence of the most concerning truths; much in the words of the two

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disciples going to Emmaus; 'Did not our hearts burn within us while he opened to us the Scriptures?'"

Latin structure of sentences.

The mannerism induced by classical studies extended beyond mere quotation. We can scarcely peruse a page of some of the greatest writers subsequent to the Elizabethan period, of Hooker, of Milton, or of Cudworth, without perceiving how deeply their style is infected with Latin constructions and Latin idioms. The simple process of rendering a few sentences of these writers into Latin prose will be satisfactory evidence of the source from whence their style is so deeply tinged[1]. The order of the sentences will remain almost unaltered without impairing the elegance of the Latin version[2]. If, however, we proceed to apply the same process to a page of Dryden, of Barrow, or especially to one of Addison's or Steele's papers in the *Tatler*, we are at once conscious that if the Latin is to wear to any extent the garb of Livy or of Cicero, the sentences must be recast, pronouns demonstrative must become relative, adjectives must be turned into adverbs, and, in short, a complete process of transfusion must take place[3].

[1] Mackintosh, *Ethical Philosophy*, p. 94.

[2] Drake's *Papers on the Tatler*, Vol. I. 38.

[3] Every reader must have noticed the thoroughly Latin usage of the relative in the learned writings of this time. To Latinised constructions we must also add Anglicised forms of Latin words. In the writings of Bp. Hall, his editor, Pratt, has found it necessary to append a glossary of the unusual words they contain, amounting to more than eleven hundred, the greater part being of Latin and Greek origin. The following are examples:—"funest" for "sad"; "effigiate" for "conform"; "respersed" for "scattered"; "deturpated" for "deformed"; "deordination" for "confusion"; "clancularly" for "secretly"; "ferity" for "fierceness"; "immorigerous" for "disobedient," &c. &c. And, lastly, we may notice a tendency to use, in their derivative sense, words which had already become applied to express *other meanings* in English. Thus Taylor uses "immured" for "encompassed"; "extant" in the sense of "standing out," as applied to bas-reliefs; "insolent" for "unusual"; for "*bruising* the serpent's head,"

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Sir Thomas Browne.

To such an extent had this mannerism pervaded the style of some of the learned writers of his day, that Sir Thomas Browne is found to declare that "if elegancy still proceedeth, and English pens maintain that stream we have of late observed to flow from many, we shall, within few years, be fain to learn Latin, to understand English, and a work will prove of equal facility in either."

Rhetorical form of writing.

Besides these characteristics there are other traits which lie less on the surface, but equally recall the training of the student and the atmosphere of the schools. We allude especially to the rhetorical structure of the sentences. Nor does it admit of much doubt that to the scholastic training of the University this mannerism is mainly attributable. The few instances which might seem to disprove the rule are too exceptional to invalidate it. Of these the most noteworthy is perhaps afforded in the prose writings of Cowley. The grace and simplicity of the few short essays which we owe to his genius, must ever render it a matter of regret that his labours were not more frequently bestowed in this direction. Singularly free from pedantry and all appearance of effort, they contain beauties which even so great a master of English prose as Hume did not disdain to copy, and Hallam[1] has affirmed that they take place among the earliest specimens of good writing in the language[2]. And yet we know that Cowley was a fellow of Trinity, and deeply attached to the study of ancient litera-

Cowley.

Purity of his prose.

he says, "*contrition* of the serpent's head!" The spirit of our earlier scholars was widely different; and Sir John Cheke actually projected a plan for reforming our language by eradicating all words which were not formed from English, i. e. Saxon, roots. See Latham's *English Language* and Rogers's Essays thereon.

[1] *Literature of Europe*, III. 553.

[2] The character of Cromwell in Hume's *History* is, with but few alterations, an adaptation of that by Cowley. The historian acknowledges the source to which he is indebted.

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ture; the touching lines, moreover, in which he laments the loss of his friend Harvey, would seem to imply that they had both been hard students:—

"Say, for you saw us, ye immortal lights,
How oft unwearied have we spent the nights!
Till the Ledæan stars, so famed for love,
Wondered at us from above!
We spent them not in toys, or lusts, or wine,
But search of deep philosophy,
Wit, eloquence, and poetry,
Arts which I loved, for they, my friend, were thine."

But though as a prose writer he escaped the general infection of his time, his poetry is far less free from mannerism. Many of his lines depend almost entirely for their force on a play upon words and their employment in a double sense, the very defect so frequent in Fuller and other writers of this period. It would seem, indeed, as though he to some extent inaugurated a style in this respect, which came gradually to be admired and copied in the college exercises of succeeding generations of students. Dr Monk[1], in his biography of Bentley, has noted in one of the early English exercises of that eminent scholar, "the prevalence of the taste for forced conceits and far-fetched quibbles which mark the poetical school of Cowley[2]."

Artificial character of his verse.

Much importance, therefore, can hardly be attached to the exceptional character of Cowley's prose writings as tending to disprove the general truth of our remarks. On the other hand, the negative evidence is strong; and we believe that a careful perusal of some of those authors who were removed by education from the influences to which we

[1] Monk's *Life of Bentley*, p. 8.

[2] The first two lines of the exercise, the theme of which is the "Gunpowder Plot," will suggest its character:

"Such *devilish* deeds to *Angli* done!
Such *black* designs on *Albion*!"

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have adverted, will shew a comparative freedom both from Latinised constructions and from a rhetorical style. An additional confirmation of our criticism is to be found in the fact, that the absence or presence of these peculiarities has been applied as a recognised test in questions of disputed authorship.

Eikon Basiliké.

An interesting controversy, which was maintained with considerable acumen on both sides, in the early part of the present century, respecting the authorship of *Eikon Basiliké*, and which terminated with a strong preponderance of argument in favour of Dr Gauden as the author, received no little elucidation from the generally rhetorical and artificial strain in which the work is written. It abounds with passages which a careful student of the different styles of this period would at once pronounce could scarcely have been penned but by a writer who had been trained in the intellectual palæstra of the Universities of that day. "The personated sovereign," says Mr Hallam, "is rather too theatrical for real nature, the language is too rhetorical and amplified, the periods too artificially elaborated. None but scholars and practised writers employ such a style as this[1]." On the other hand, the very converse of this argument has been made use of, by the same writer, to prove that the *Apology for the Earl of Essex*, which is usually printed among Bacon's works, was the composition of the earl himself. "We have nowhere in our early writers a flow of words so easy and graceful, a structure so harmonious, a series of antitheses so spirited without affectation, an absence of quaintness, pedantry and vulgarity, so truly gentleman-like, a paragraph so worthy of the most brilliant man of his age.....It is the language of a soldier's heart, with the unstudied grace of a noble courtier."

Earl of Essex's Apology.

[1] *Literature of Europe*, III. 153.

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Besides the mannerism induced by classical studies, a very cursory perusal of some of the literature of this time, especially that of a controversial character, will suffice to bring under the reader's notice another and equally marked mannerism, which we can scarcely err in attributing to the influence of the schools. Much in the same way as Lucretius oftentimes enforces a home thrust in argument with an expression or metaphor borrowed from the gladiatorial contests of the Roman circus, not a few of the writers of this period delight to import into the productions of the closet, the smartness, bluster, and quibblings of a regular disputation. The very vices inseparable from the encounters at the schools, and which, probably more than anything else, gradually led to their discontinuance, we find reproduced in grave treatises on matters of antiquarian research and of religious controversy. Of this feature a better instance is perhaps scarcely to be found than is afforded by the writings of the celebrated Richard Mountague, afterwards bishop of Chichester, whose citation before the House of Commons in 1625, on the charge of Arminianism, created no small excitement in his day. His best production is perhaps his *Diatribæ on Selden's History of Tithes*, a work in which he was held to have so effectually overthrown the great scholar on divers points, that King James ordered Selden to desist from the controversy. It would involve a somewhat lengthened comparison of the *Diatribæ* with the original work, to point out in what respects the Cambridge athlete is supposed to have gained the advantage over his formidable antagonist. Selden, who would seem to have taken no very exalted but an eminently practical view of the question of tithes, had proposed to discuss the mode of levying the same rather as a matter of expediency than on a traditional basis. It was this renunciation of antiquity, as a court of appeal, that roused the ire of the more conserva-

Disputations mode of expression.

Richard Mountague.

His "Diatribæ."

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tive party[1], and brought Mountague, whose reputation as a logomachist and a scholar stood equally high[2], an ardent combatant into the arena. The pedantry and controversial character of the writings of the time will both be found to receive some illustration in the following brief extracts:—

"These are your flourishes and præludia. Hitherto your Rorarii have played to entertain the Reader with some slight skirmishes a little before the bickering; now, at the last, res deducta est ad Triarios, the signall is given them in the reere to arise and doe their devoyre[3]."

Again, with reference to the supposed sanctity of the number ten, he says[4]:—

"It may be questioned why David, being to combat with Goliah, chose five smooth stones out of the river. Why a letter was added to Abraham's name? and wherefore another was taken from Sara's? Why Abraham, at his interview with God, beginneth with fiftie and goeth down unto, but no further then, Ten? Many such curiosities may be questioned and enquired after; but you phillip off Antiquitie with disdaine; not alone by underhand injurie (as if that Sinke of Sinne, the Gnosticks, or their accursed branches, *κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν ὠόν*, an accursed Egge of an accursed Bird, the Marcosian and Colarbasian Blasphemers, had bin no other in your opinion than the approved doctors of the primitive times) but with open mouth and disvizored face, you in expresse terms have, as Eusebius writeth of Marcellus of Ancyra, without cause and very

[1] This feeling was not uncommon at the period, and was shared by many eminent men of a far from controversial spirit. Jebb, in his *Life of Nicholas Ferrar*, speaks of commutation as "one of those wicked compositions that are now so frequent." p. 270.

[2] "Very sharp the nib of his pen and much gall in his ink, against those who opposed him," was Fuller's dictum respecting our author.

[3] Mountague's *Diatribæ* (edit. of 1621), p. 284.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 261.

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idly (out of, not fierie Zeale, but puffed Vanitie) vented despight against the servants of God, and those none of the ordinary ones neyther, but such as were of chief *renowne* in the church, and well reputed of by all, for goodly life and conversation."

Possibly the reader will feel less concern at Selden's levity in "phillipping" off antiquity, when he hears how antiquity was sometimes dragged into the argument.

"Thirdly it was *Hercules* who first of all taught the people of that country so to honour God, and first of all established that Religious Dutie, both by practice and precept in Evander's time. For,

> Amphitryoniades qua tempestate juvencos
> Egerat e stabulis, O Erythræa, tuis,

returning with the conquered spoil of Geryon, out of Spaine into Italy, unto Evander his ancient Oast, *θύει τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν λαφύρων τὴν δεκάτην*, offered the Tenth part (according to the ancient custom of Greece) of the spoyles unto the gods, sayth Halicarnassus. Which being *λάφυρα*, spoyles, in regard of Geryon, from whom he had taken them in Spaine, were in his owne intent *χαριστήρια*, offerings of thanksgiving, for the restoring of his goods and cattell, diminished by the theft of Cacus, who had taken away part of his Oxen. Then, at that time, Inventori Patri Aram dedicavit. And upon that Ara called Maxima, sacrificed the Tenth of his cattell, by way of thanksgiving, Eidem Inventori Patri[1]."

[1] Mountague's *Diatribæ* (edit. of 1621), p. 433.

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CHAPTER III (*continued*).

INFLUENCE OF CAMBRIDGE STUDIES DISCERNIBLE IN THE CHARACTER AND WRITINGS OF DISTINGUISHED GRADUATES DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

PART II. *Influence on Character and Thought.*

Influences on character.

FROM those more superficial traits which we have noted, let us proceed to those deeper influences to be recognized in character and in thought. And here it is necessary at the outset to bear in mind, that arguments founded on any inferences thus drawn require to be very clearly and decisively substantiated. With reference to minds of a peculiarly subjective character, it is, indeed, often impossible to assert the effects of circumstances, which it would be only reasonable to suppose would materially influence those of a less self-sustained order. In the case of Milton, for instance, beyond the culture of his classical taste, there is little reason for supposing that Cambridge did much towards moulding his character, or, if so, it would appear to be quite as much by the development of antagonistic as of sympathetic feelings. Facts would seem to indicate that his differences with the college authorities, his native independence of spirit, his Puritan sympathies, and his noble scorn of the frivolities and vice which prevailed around him, combined to produce rather a spirit of antagonism

Milton.

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towards than of acquiescence in the training he underwent[1]. "His soul was like a star and dwelt apart," not only in the time of his old age and his blindness, but also in the purity and self-reliance of his youth. Hear, for instance, how in his twenty-third year, he could discourse of temperance and study, amid those who had known his life and habits as their associate and fellow-student for some seven years; the lady in Comus speaks not in words more wise or more chaste:—

"If, by living modestly and temperately, we choose rather to tame the first impulses of fierce youth by reason and persevering constancy in study, preserving the heavenly vigour of the mind, pure and untouched from all contagion and stain, it would be incredible, my hearers, to us looking back after a few years, what a space we should seem to have traversed, what a huge sea of learning to have over-navigated with placid voyage.... If from boyhood we allow no day to pass without its lessons and diligent study, if in art we wisely omit what is foreign, superfluous, useless, certainly, within the age of Alexander the Great, we shall have made a greater and more glorious conquest than that of the globe; and so far shall we be from accusing the brevity of life, or the fatigue of knowledge, that I believe we should be readier, like him of old,

[1] His lines to his friend Diodati, written from London during the second year of his Cambridge course, are familiar to most readers:

"Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura revisere Camum,
Nec dudum vetiti me laris angit amor."

In the same letter he speaks of the "hoarse murmur of the schools." He can no longer endure

"duri minas perferre magistri
Cæteraque ingenio non subeunda meo."

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to weep and sob that there remained no more worlds for us to triumph over[1]."

There is, again, not the slightest evidence, that his intercourse with his tutor ever assumed that confidential and intimate character observable in the case of students like Nicholas Ferrar, D'Ewes, and Matthew Robinson; on the contrary, there is reason to suppose that the religious influences to which they were, in this relation, subjected, were no part of the experience of John Milton, and consequently that we miss the effects of certain associations, to the importance of which we have already adverted. Throughout the whole range of his writings, we have sought in vain for a single passage which would seem to imply that his lofty nature ever condescended to acknowledge that it owed any great debt of gratitude to the nurture which it had received amid the routine of college discipline and the influences of academic life. However reluctantly, it would seem, therefore, that we must forego that thrill of pride with which we should delight to trace, in the productions of the genius of John Milton, the fostering and guiding influence of his university career. Let it suffice us that we can yet point to his name upon the roll, that he walked our streets, wore our garb, and pursued our studies, and bequeathed to these, the scenes of his pure early manhood and his most ardent aspirations, a reputation greater than they could confer[2].

[1] College Exercises, No. VII. delivered in College Chapel, 1631. (From Masson's *Life*, p. 272.)

[2] For a very just criticism on the rare type of Milton's genius, we may refer the reader to Mr Masson's work, p. 281. It will, of course, be understood that we in no way wish to undervalue the undoubted effects of his classical studies on his writings. But as a classical student he appears again to have been superior even to his University. "He was," says Mr Hallam, "perhaps the first writer who eminently possessed a genuine discernment and feeling of antiquity."

Milton's estimate of the system of classical education in his time was

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Anglican School of divines.

But while in the long line of Cambridge graduates of the seventeenth century, there was but one Milton, there were not a few who, though they possessed not his genius and force of character, might compare with him without disadvantage in singleness of purpose and a holy life. Of a particular class among these we would now speak, recognising them as a distinct school of religious thought, and a legitimate growth of the Cambridge training of that day; a class of thinkers inured to habits of close reasoning and subtle distinctions by the study of Aristotle and the logicians; to lofty and glowing philosophic speculation by the oft perusal of Plato and Cicero, of Plotinus and Porphyry; and taught to cultivate a deeply reverential spirit, in matters of religious belief, by the example of such writers as Augustine and Chrysostom. Of the general characteristics of this school we will endeavour now to give a

an echo of the complaints of Ascham. "We do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much Latin and Greek as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year." With respect to the general tendencies of the whole system of university training, he has also expressed himself in language equally uncomplimentary: "And for the usual method of teaching arts, I deem it to be an old error of universities, not yet well recovered from the scholastic grossness of barbarous ages, that instead of beginning with arts most easy—and those be such as are most obvious to the sense—they present their young unmatriculated novices at first coming with the most intellective abstractions of logic and metaphysics, so that they, having but newly left those grammatic flats and shallows where they stuck unreasonably to learn a few words with lamentable construction, and now on the sudden transported under another climate, to be tossed and turmoiled with their unballasted wits in fathomless and unquiet deeps of controversy, do for the most part grow into hatred and contempt of learning, mocked and deluded all this while with ragged notions and babblements, while they expected worthy and delightful knowledge.....And these," he adds (after enumerating the divers miscarriages of students in after life) "are the fruits of misspending our prime youth at schools and universities as we do, either in learning mere words, or such things chiefly as were better unlearned." *Tractate on Education.*

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brief sketch, reserving for subsequent notice that especially philosophic section which was destined to become so famous[1].

Puritan sympathies of late historians.

The historians of this period, who have during the last twenty years principally obtained the public ear, have so uniformly and strenuously espoused the Puritan cause, that it becomes necessary at the outset to endeavour to recall ourselves to a somewhat more impartial view of the motives and feelings by which each party was actuated. It has been the fashion with these writers to treat the religious peculiarities of the one party with particular tenderness, and those of the other with particular contempt. The mannerism of the Puritan, his sombre garb, closely cut hair, unstarched linen, nasal twang, and ludicrous nomenclature, have been touched with light and lenient hand; while the minor traits of the Anglican party, of which Laud is selected as the representative, have been treated with unsparing ridicule. An unprejudiced student of this portion of our history will probably decline to adopt, in either case, an exclusively panegyristic tone. The satirist's description of the Puritans, as

> "A sect whose chief devotion lies
> In odd perverse antipathies,"

will appear to him a very imperfect portraiture. He will recognise the elements of moral grandeur discernible in the Puritan character, its persistent energy, heroic endurance, hatred of oppression, and deeply religious feeling. Nor, on the other hand, will he allow to pass unobserved the equally heroic sense of duty which actuated many of the Anglican party, or fail to pay a fitting meed of respect to that fervour of devotion which, in matters of religious

[1] In tracing to the effects of their Cambridge training the growth of the Anglican school in the University during this period, I am well aware that nothing can more tend to bring into ridicule all theorizing in questions

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ceremonial and observance, led them to guard from profanation, as dearer than life itself, each sacred rite, however apparently unimportant, that bound them, by the holiest associations, to that which they esteemed to be the crowning service of their spiritual life.

Of the school of writers to which we have above adverted, a recent illustration is supplied in Mr Masson's volume[1]; and the following passage, though written in a tone of studied impartiality, sufficiently indicates the point of view from which the writer has surveyed the question:— Mr Masson's account.

"'All that I laboured for in this particular,' he (Laud) said afterwards, when charged on his trial with introducing Popish and superstitious ceremonies into the worship of the Church of England, 'was that the external worship of God in this Church might be kept up in uniformity and decency, and in some beauty of holiness.' This phrase, 'beauty of holiness,' was a favourite one with Laud..... Picking the phrase out for himself, or finding it already selected for him, he seems to have delighted in using it to describe his ideal of the Church. If there is ever a touch of poetry in Laud's language, it is when he uses this phrase or one of its equivalents. One seems to see a peculiar relish of his lips in the act of pronouncing it.

of this kind than the attempt to claim as *the result of a system* a reputation which may be very far from owing its formation to the *circumstances* of any stage of its development. Mr Buckle, for instance, derides, and we think with some justice, the "exquisite simplicity" which leads the biographer of Ken to imply that Chillingworth derived his tolerant principles from Oxford. (See *History of Civilization*, Vol. I. 319, note.) But in reference to the school of which we are now speaking we may note (1) frequent intercourse of its members with each other; (2) direct acknowledgment in their writings of the influence of their College career; (3) a similarity in thought and feeling too marked to admit the theory that it was in any way fortuitous or owing to impressions external to the University.

[1] *Life of Milton*, pp. 344—5.

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What it meant in his application is generally known. It meant that, as in all ages it had been deemed advantageous for the maintaining of religion among men to represent it as far as possible in tangible object and institution, in daily custom, and in periodical fast and festival, so there should be an effort to increase and perfect at that time in England the sensuous and ceremonious aids to worship. It meant that there should be greater uniformity in times and seasons, in fish during Lent, and in the observance of saints' days. It meant that there should be a survey of the decayed cathedrals and churches throughout the land, with a view to their repair and comely maintenance. It meant that, more than hitherto, these edifices and all appertaining to them should be treated as holy objects, not to be seen or touched without obeisance, and worthy of all the seemliness that religious art could bestow upon them. Thus, in the 'beauty of holiness' there were included not only the walls and external fabrics of the sacred edifices, but also their internal decorations and furniture—the paintings, the carved images, the great organ, the crucifixes, the candlesticks; the crimson and blue and yellow of the stained glass windows; consecrated vessels for the holy communion, with consecrated knives and napkins; and, even in the humblest parish churches, the sweetest cleanliness, at least, the well-kept desks of oak, the stone baptismal font, the few conspicuous squares of white and black marble, and, above all, the decent rail separating the communion-table from the rest of the interior. Moreover, and very specially, the priests as being men holy in their office by derivation from the Apostles, were to see to the expression of this in their vestments, and chiefly in the pure white surplices enjoined to be worn on the more solemn occasions of sacred service. Then, there was symbolical holiness also in the appointed ges-

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tures both of the minister and the people—the standing up at the Creed, the kneeling at the Communion, the bowing at the name of Jesus. All this and much more was included in that 'beauty of holiness' which Laud desired to uphold and restore in England."

Such is the representation which a writer, whose sympathies are very far from being enlisted on the side of the Anglican party, puts forward of their views and feelings in reference to those questions of religious ritual which precipitated the open warfare of the time. But though proceeding from no friendly hand, we believe it may yet, for argument's sake, be accepted without in any way involving the imputation which the writer intended to convey. It is evident that such observances could have in themselves but little merit; they must be estimated by the more important traits of character with which they were associated, and the actuating spirit in which they were made. What then, we would ask, were really the leading motives of the Anglican party at this period? Was it the case, as some writers would wish us to believe, that the importance which they attached to matters of ritual was only one mode of testifying their desire to return within the pale of the Church of Rome, and to undo all that the Reformation had done? Is it true that, engrossed in ceremonial observances, they forgot the spirit of their great Exemplar, and that while they paid tithe of mint and of cummin, they neglected the weightier matters of the law? Is it true of them as a party, that charity was lost in bigotry, forbearance towards those who differed from them in an uncompromising policy, and that all toleration, moderation, and generosity, took refuge among the sterner spirits of the party to which they were opposed? If we can adduce strong reasons for believing the contrary, from our observations in the limited but important

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field to which our task confines us, the injustice of selecting such a man as Laud as a type of his party will be manifest.

Let us endeavour then for a time to divest ourselves of all previous bias, and to take a dispassionate view of the great Anglican party as represented by those eminent men who adorned our University at this period. Let us try to put ourselves in their position, and enter into the principles by which it would seem they were actuated; let us mark the fruit of those principles as it appears in their characters, their writings, and their lives; and we shall then be able more adequately to estimate the merits of a class of men whose retiring virtues and unostentatious lives have failed to offer a sufficiently tempting theme for eulogium to the picturesque historian.

"The annals of the English Church," says a writer whose labours in this field entitle him to speak with no small authority[1], "do not, throughout all its period, present a galaxy more resplendent than the admirable band of men united by close sympathies and *common views in matters of faith and practice*, who adorned the university of Cambridge at that period. Indeed, were a synod of the wise and good to be imagined by the glowing fancy of an ardent visionary, which should unite the widest range of learning with the richest eloquence, and the most comprehensive Christian philanthropy with every holier grace of personal character, could it be better bodied forth than in Taylor, Mede, More, Whichcote, Rust, Worthington and Smith?" Of these the first is the best known to fame. Born at Cambridge, and among the earliest of those who received their education at the Perse Grammar School, Jeremy Taylor, was entered as a sizar at Caius

Anglican school at Cambridge.

Jeremy Taylor.

[1] Crossley's edition of Worthington's *Diary*, published by the Chetham Society.

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in his fourteenth year[1]. Respecting his university life and academic successes we possess very scanty information, but his works exhibit abundant proof of that intimate acquaintance with the Aristotelian logic which one of his biographers informs us he possessed[2]. His progress in theology was such that he was admitted into holy orders before he had completed his twenty-first year. The fame of his pulpit oratory in London, soon after, attracted the attention of Laud, who sent for him to preach in his own hearing at Lambeth. The archbishop was so well pleased with what he saw and heard of the young divine, that he did not rest until he had obtained for him a fellowship in All Souls', Oxford; to obtain this, Laud appears to have had recourse to somewhat arbitrary measures, but whatever unpopularity might have resulted from thence to the newly-elected fellow, was obviated by the charm of his personal demeanour and high character; Sheldon, the warden of the College, who had opposed his election, became afterwards one of his firmest friends. It was during his residence at Oxford that Taylor's friendship with a Franciscan friar, known by the name of Francis à Sancta Clara, led to the report that he had secretly embraced the tenets of the Church of Rome; an accusation which will scarcely now be deemed worthy of serious refutation. It is foreign to our purpose to follow the career of this eminent man through the vicissitudes of his eventful life. We find him now among those who gathered round the king at Oxford, and it was there that by the royal command his defence of Episcopalianism was given to the world; we find him next a prisoner, his living sequestrated, his funds exhausted, penning his *Liberty of Prophesying*, perhaps the finest of his productions, unaided save by the

[1] Aug. 18, 1626. [2] Lloyd's *Memoirs*, p. 702.

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stores of learning which he had made inalienably his own; again we trace him, for a few years, to the sylvan solitudes of Golden Grove, officiating as the private chaplain of Lord Carbery, one of the most estimable of those noblemen who adhered to the royalist party; again he appears as the correspondent and bosom friend of that pattern of the English gentleman, John Evelyn; then once more in confinement at Chepstow; and now as a missionary to the wild natives who dwelt amid the solemn grandeur of the scenery of Lough Neagh; and finally, on the restoration of monarchy, ending his days in the exile of an Irish bishopric, winning alike the laity and the hostile clergy of his diocese by his exemplary virtues and faithful discharge of the duties of his office.

His "Apology for the Liturgy."

It was while resident at Golden Grove[1] that Taylor published his *Apology for the Liturgy*. "In such a state of things," says one of his biographers[2], "it is no slight proof of Taylor's loyalty and courage that he produced this work, which openly tends to degrade the Directory by a comparison of it with the noble liturgy of the Church of England; and that he prefixed his name to it, with a reprint of his dedication to the King." Few, we imagine, could peruse the following passage, written in a time of danger and distress, when the pulpits of the Church of England were filled by a motley herd, unanimous in little but hatred of her ancient ritual and comprehensive teachings, when the trooper's iron heel clanked rudely in her sacred aisles, when Presbyterianism itself was persecuted in turn as too moderate and tolerant a belief,—without a feeling of something like respect, if not of sympathy, for that "beauty of holiness" which Laud had striven to uphold.

"I shall only crave leave that I may remember Jeru-

[1] 1649. [2] Hughes' *Life of Jeremy Taylor*, p. 36.

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salem, and call to mind the pleasures of the temple, the order of her services, the beauty of her buildings, the sweetness of her songs, the decency of her ministrations, the assiduity of her priests and Levites, the daily sacrifice, and that eternal fire of devotion, that went not out by day nor by night. These were the pleasures of our peace; and there is a remanent felicity in the very memory of those spiritual delights, which we then enjoyed as antepasts of heaven and consignations to an immortality of joys. And it may be so again, when it shall please God, who hath the heart of all princes in his hands, and turneth them as the rivers of water; and when men will consider the invaluable loss that is consequent, and the danger of sin that is appendant, upon the destroying of such forms of discipline and devotion, in which God was purely worshiped and the church was edified, and the people instructed to great degrees of piety, knowledge and devotion."

The sentiments of his school.

If such were the sentiments of the party with which Taylor was identified, it can be no great matter for surprise that they regarded with deeply wounded feelings those open indecencies (for they deserve no better name), in which, as we have already seen, the Puritan party thought fit to indulge; that, as they found their devotions broken by the irreverence of those around, their ceremonial stigmatised by contempt, as they heard the coarse invectives uttered from the pulpit, and their own exquisite liturgy supplanted by impromptu and often painfully ludicrous effusions in prayer[1], their affection, for ritual and liturgy alike, was but confirmed, and that, being driven to energetic action to guard them from contempt, they came at last to transfer to these a value which men will never fail to

[1] See *The Phœnix*, Vol. II. 503.

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attach to what, however unimportant in itself, they have once seriously devoted themselves to defend. There are those to whom such feeling respecting matters of ceremonial and ritual appears misplaced, because they fail to take into account the great law of association. To the Anglican none of those things were indifferent which he associated with religious worship. Viewed in their abstract merits there would seem little to choose between the closely cut hair of Laud and that of the Puritan soldier; between four surplices at All-Hallow's eve and the absence of starch in every-day attire; between a solemn observance of appointed fasts and a solemn antipathy to plum-pudding and Christmas festivity. While if, on the one hand, to the imprudence of Laud must be attributed that open hostility to which the Puritan party were driven, it is equally certain that to the violence and excesses of the Puritans must be referred much of the uncompromising tenacity evinced by the Anglican party in matters which we cannot regard as essential.

Joseph Mede.

Next to Taylor comes Mede, one of the same school of religious thought, but possessing abilities of a far less brilliant order, and whose life, spent and ended within the quiet retreat of Christ's College, presents a striking contrast to that of his distinguished contemporary. Like Taylor he obtained the patronage of Laud, to whom he was chaplain, though the appointment involved neither duty nor stipend. His name acquires some additional interest from the fact that he was fellow and tutor of his college during Milton's residence there, and the two must have been known to each other, though there is no evidence that they came much into contact. All the accounts of Mede agree in representing him as a man of singularly benevolent and gentle spirit. As a tutor he appears to have won the confidence of his pupils to an unusual extent,

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and the following account by his biographer of his method of tuition, is an interesting illustration of the period:—

"After he had by daily lectures well grounded his pupils in Humanity, Logic and Philosophy, and by frequent conversation understood to what particular studies their parts might be most profitably applied, he gave them his advice accordingly; and when they were able to go alone, he chose rather to set every one his daily task than constantly to confine himself and them to precise hours for lectures. In the evening they all came to his chamber, to satisfy him that they had performed the task he had set them. The first question which he used then to propound to every one in his order, was 'Quid dubitas?' (for he supposed that to doubt nothing and to understand nothing were verifiable alike). Their doubts being propounded, he resolved their queries, and so set them upon clear ground to proceed more distinctly; and then, having by prayer commended them and their studies to God's protection and blessing, he dismissed them to their lodgings." Like many of his contemporaries, Mede was given to a somewhat mystic interpretation of Scripture, and his great work, the *Clavis Apocalyptica*[1], is still a book of some authority with

His system of tuition.

His studies in prophecy.

[1] In common with many other writers on the subject, Mede was tempted to carry his efforts at interpretation to an undue extent. Thus he was wont to predict the troublous times which were approaching, but which he did not live to behold (he died in 1638), from the text in Judges iii. 20, "And the land had rest fourscore years," dating his calculation from the accession of Elizabeth. He considered also that the outpouring of the fourth vial had a direct reference to the King of Sweden. It was similarly a point of Mountague's attack upon Selden that the latter had presumed to censure men "who take upon them confidently to dare tell us the mystery of the number of the beast, 666, and to finde oute that Antichrist the Sonne of Perdition, by the letters Numerall that must be found in his name." (*Diatribæ*, p. 284.) Compare also the treatment in a sermon by John Smith of Queens', entitled *The Discourse of Prophesie*.

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writers on prophecy. His life, by Worthington, at the commencement of the folio edition of his works, is a graceful tribute from an admiring and sympathising friend, and the works themselves, which were left in what appeared to be a hopeless labyrinth of manuscript, are a monument of editorial skill.

Worthington.

Worthington, who was educated at Emmanuel, and afterwards elected to the mastership of Jesus, was a man of similar views and of kindred spirit. His diary, published by the Chetham Society, is valuable as a record of the period, though generally too meagre to be of great interest. As a moving spirit in the University, his influence was perhaps little inferior to that of any of his contemporaries; he was personally known and beloved by nearly all the eminent men of his school, and his generous nature delighted in the recognition of their virtues and talents while they lived, and in rescuing their writings from oblivion when they themselves were no more. "In him," says his editor, "Henry More delighted to recognise aspirations as pure, a spirit as unworldly, and benevolence as expansive as his own."

John Smith of Queens'.

John Smith, another of this illustrious band, was also originally a student at Emmanuel, but afterwards a fellow of Queens'. He died at the early age of thirty-five. His sermons, published after his death, are accompanied by some account of the author from the pen of Worthington, which, though more succinct than his sketch of Mede, gives us the impression of a man of far higher powers than the amiable tutor of Christ's[1]. The sermons themselves, originally addressed to the audience of a college chapel, are of a very high order; the learning they display is that of no mere

[1] "I know nothing but that Quarto extant. He was a very good man and a good scholar." Henry More, Letter XIII. p. 359.

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pedant; the reasoning is admirably sustained, and the language singularly clear and vigorous[1]. The volume also contains the funeral sermon[2] preached on the occasion of the author's death, by Patrick, one of the junior fellows of the college. The intrinsic evidence of these sermons, combined with the testimony of Worthington and Patrick, would lead us to infer that in their author's premature decease the University sustained no ordinary loss. "He was," says Worthington, "one whom I knew for many years, not only when he was fellow of Queens' College, but when a student in Emmanuel, where his early piety and his remembering his Creator in those days of his youth, as also his excellent improvement in the choicest parts of learning, endeared him to many, particularly to his careful tutor, then fellow of Emmanuel, afterwards provost of King's, Dr Whichcote." ....."He was a follower and imitator of God in purity and holiness, in benignity, goodness and love, a love enlarged as God's love is, whose goodness overflows and spreads itself to all.....Religious he was, but without any vain-gloriousness and ostentation; not so much a talking or a disputing, as a living, a doing and an obeying Christian; one inwardly acquainted with the simplicity and power of godliness, but no admirer of the Pharisaic forms and sanc-

[1] "He addressed himself," says Professor Maurice, "more directly to the assertion of an actual and real righteousness both in God and man, opposing the tendency which he traced in the Calvinistic divines of his day to set up an artificial righteousness which could never satisfy the Divine Truth or man's need of truth." *Moral and Met. Phil.* p. 349.

[2] In all the literature of this period with which I am acquainted I have not met with a more pathetic production than this funeral sermon. The artistic skill is not great, but there is an expression of genuine feeling throughout, with an occasional outbreak of honest grief which produces an effect above all art. Patrick felt he had lost a kind friend, and the college a wise counsellor, and he was not ashamed to show how he felt the loss.

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timonious shows (though never so goodly and precious), which cannot and do not affect the adult and strong Christians, though they may and do those that are unskilful and weak." "He loved an ingenuous and sober freedom of spirit, the generous Bercean-like temper and practice (agreeable to the Apostle's prudent and faithful advice), of proving all things and holding fast that which is good."

"In a word," says Patrick, (the mannerism of the time showing with singular effect amid the simple earnestness of his discourse) "he was *βιβλιοθήκη τις ἔμψυχος καὶ περιπατοῦν μουσεῖον*, as Eusebius speaks of Longinus, a living library, better than that which he hath given to our College, and a walking study that carried his learning about with him. I never got so much good among all my books by a whole day's plodding in a study, as by an hour's discourse I have got with him."

And then, after a passage of deep emotion, which seems to have found a response throughout his whole auditory, he adds:—

"It grieved me in my thoughts that there should be so many orphans left without a father, a society left naked without one of her best guardians and chieftains, her very chariots and horsemen: unto whose instruction and brave conduct not a few of us will acknowledge that they owe much of their skill and ability."

The following sentiments from one of Smith's sermons, will speak for themselves:—

"To seek our Divinity merely in Books and Writings is to seek the living among the dead; we doe but in vain seek God many times in these where is Truth too often not so much enshrined as entombed: no, intra te quære Deum; seek for God within thine own soul; he is best discerned *νοερᾷ ἐπαφῇ*, as Plotinus phraseth it, by an intellectual touch of him."

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And again,

"But yet this knowledge being a true heavenly fire kindled from God's own altar, begets an undaunted courage in the souls of good men, and enables them to cast an holy scorn upon the poor petty trash of this life in comparison with divine things, and to pitty those poor brutish Epicureans that have nothing but the meer husks of fleshly pleasure to feed themselves with. This sight of God makes pious souls breathe after that blessed time when Mortality shall be swallowed up of life, when they shall no more behold the Divinity through those dark mediums that eclipse the blessed sight of it[1]."

It is easy to discern, even in these brief extracts, the influence of the Platonic philosophy of his friend Cudworth, "for whom," says Worthington, "he had always a great affection and respect."

Rust.

Inferior to none of his school in purity of character and disinterestedness of purpose was George Rust, afterwards bishop of Dromore. The story of his life is at once so simple and yet interesting that its introduction here will scarcely require an apology. That life, until within nine years of its termination, had been passed within the walls of his college, and would, it seemed in all probability, there find its close. But this was not to be. After the Restoration, Taylor had, as we have seen, been nominated to an Irish bishopric, and foreseeing that a vacancy was likely to occur in the deanery of Connor, of which he was patron, he intimated to his friends at Cambridge his wish that they would offer the appointment, on his behalf, to some suitable person. The offer was made to Rust. Rust does not appear to have been personally acquainted with

[1] Sermon on *The true Way or Method of attaining to Divine Knowledge.*

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Taylor, but the prospect of co-operation with one for whom he had already conceived an enthusiastic admiration, induced him readily to accede to the proposal. Forsaking his retired life at Christ's College, he proceeded without delay to the distant wilds of Connor. In Taylor he soon discovered a kindred spirit, and an appreciative friend; the cordial intercourse which was thus commenced, was only terminated by the Bishop's death in 1667, six years after Rust first landed at Dublin. It fell to the survivor's lot to offer, in a touching and eloquent discourse, the last sad tribute of sorrow and esteem over his friend's grave. The bishopric which Taylor had held was divided at his death, and Rust succeeded to the part which now constituted the bishopric of Dromore. He survived his friend but little more than three years, when he was carried off by a fever, "to the unspeakable grief," says Glanvil, "of all that knew his worth, and especially of such of them as had been blest by his friendship, and most sweet and endearing conversation. He was buried in the quire of his own cathedral church of Dromore, in a vault made for his predecessor, bishop Taylor, whose sacred dust is deposited also there; and what dormitory hath two such tenants?" To the same writer we are indebted for this further sketch: "He was a person with whom I had the honour and happiness of a very particular acquaintance; a man he was of a clear mind, a deep judgment and searching wit; greatly learned in all the best sorts of knowledge, old and new, a thoughtful and diligent enquirer, of a free understanding and vast capacity, joined with singular modesty and unusual sweetness of temper, which made him the darling of all who knew him. He was a person of great piety and generosity; a hearty lover of God and men; an excellent preacher, a wise governor, a profound philosopher, a quick, forcible and close reasoner, and above all, a true and ex-

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emplary Christian." Such praise from such a source needs no comment. There is something sad and yet heroic in the closing scene of the lives of these two great men, whose ashes now rest side by side in the cathedral church of Dromore. Severed from the England which they loved, far away from those stores of learning and that intercourse with kindred spirits which they had so dearly prized, surrounded by a half barbarous race, a laity indifferent to their efforts, and a Calvinistic clergy who held moodily and suspiciously aloof, they cheered each other by the interchange of Christian sympathy and ennobling thought, and, in the meek but faithful discharge of the high duties of their office, thus lived and thus died.

Rust's "Discourse of Truth."

The *Discourse of Truth*, from the preface to which (by Glanvil) the foregoing extracts have been taken, is now scarcely known to us by name, nor does it seem quite to bear out Rust's reputation; but as an indication of the new spirit which was beginning to be infused into philosophical enquiry it is not unworthy of perusal. It contains a vigorous protest against the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, and the student, we think, will scarcely fail to perceive in it a kind of foreshadowing of Dr Clarke's celebrated theory respecting the eternal relations of things as constituting the great laws of right and wrong[1].

Henry More.

As the founder of the Cambridge school of philosophy with which he stands identified, the name of Henry More is sufficiently known to posterity, but his life and character, apart from his writings, seem to afford additional evidence for our present purpose. Like Mede he passed his life in

[1] It seems not improbable that in this short essay Rust is endeavouring to combat the language of Descartes. The philosophy of the latter was far from Arminian in its character, and the language of Rust would seem to have reference to certain passages in his works. Cf. Hallam, II. p. 459.

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the seclusion of his college, and like him was distinguished for his blameless character and kindliness of spirit. "In 1642," says Dr Whewell, "he resigned the rectory of Ingoldsby, in Lincolnshire, soon after he had been presented to it by his father, who had bought the advowson of it for his son. This living, at a later period, he conferred upon his friend Worthington; and at his death gave the advowson to the college. In 1675, he accepted a prebend in the church of Gloucester, being collated to it by one of his admirers, but soon after resigned it to Dr Fowler, on whom it was conferred at his request; this being, it was supposed, the view with which he had accepted it.....During the civil wars and the commonwealth he was not interrupted in his studious retirement, although he had made himself obnoxious by constantly refusing to take the covenant[1]." Philosophy and a contemplative existence appear to have been the aim and end of his desires; he even declined the mastership of his college, and on one occasion, his biographer tells us, when a bishopric had been obtained for him without his knowledge by his friends, and they had brought him to Whitehall to kiss the king's hand, as an act of homage on his preferment to the new dignity, "when he understood the business, he was not on any account to be persuaded to it[2]." His life, by Ward, has preserved to us many traits of his noble and ingenuous character. "His very chamber-door was a hospital to the needy." Of his humility, we are told, "never did any man carry that important point higher than he did." "He was profoundly pious, and yet without all sourness, superstition or melancholy[3]." "I do verily believe," says his biographer[4], "that never any man

[1] Whewell, *History of Moral Philosophy*, p. 67.
[2] *More's Life*, by Dr Richard Ward, p. 59.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 119.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 235.

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that was not more than human, had truer and more exalted apprehensions of the Divine Nature than he had; deeper and more sincere passions of love and of honour towards it; or, what is consequent upon this, a more triumphant joy and satisfaction in it."

Of the catholicity of spirit which pervaded this school, a better proof can scarcely be given than the intimate friendship which subsisted between the celebrated Dr Whichcot, for some time Provost of King's[1], and several of its most distinguished members. Smith and Worthington were his pupils; Mede, More, and Cudworth, his personal friends. It is certain, however, that though he inclined to the Platonic school in philosophy, Whichcot must have been at direct variance with these eminent men with respect to some of the leading questions of religious controversy in his day. He was himself distinguished as one of the founders of that new school which began to flourish with the latter part of the century, and which, under the name of "Latitudinarianism," was strongly opposed to many of the views and teachings of the Anglican party. The modern distinction of "High" and "Low" Church, will, in fact, represent pretty accurately the main differences that must have existed between Whichcot and his Anglican friends. Richard Baxter, to whom he was well known, numbers him among "the best and wisest of the nonconformists[2];" and it was even asserted that he had taken the covenant[3], but to this statement Tillotson gave a public and direct denial[4].

Whichcot.

[1] Whichcot was deprived of his Provostship at the Restoration. He died while on a visit at the house of his friend Cudworth (then master of Christ's College) in 1683, aged 74.

[2] Dyer's *Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge*, II. 355.

[3] Rose's *Biograph. Dict.*

[4] Tillotson's *Funeral Sermon for Dr Whichcot.*

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It would be a matter of little difficulty to considerably extend our list of the distinguished men of the Anglican school who adorned our University during the seventeenth century, but the extent of our subject requires that with two more instances we should bring our account to a close; instances of men, who, unlike those whom we have already named, passed but a small portion of their life within the range of Cambridge influences, and went forth into the world to submit the principles which they had formed to the severer tests afforded by a more varied and exciting experience. We are indebted to the researches of a distinguished member of our University for the publication of two memoirs, those of Nicholas Ferrar and Matthew Robinson, which, both from their own merits and the editorial skill with which they have been given to the world, are valuable illustrations of the period under our consideration. Of the lives of these two remarkable men we must content ourselves with presenting only a brief outline, and refer the reader to the original sources for the admirable portraitures which they contain.

Nicholas Ferrar.

Nicholas Ferrar, the son of a wealthy India merchant, was born in London in the year 1592. He early evinced considerable intelligence, and at school his remarkable powers of memory rendered his progress unusually rapid. In his thirteenth year he was entered at Clare Hall, where his acquirements and unassuming piety so attracted the attention and admiration of the whole college that, though entered as a pensioner, the fellows, Dr Jebb informs us, "would soon after needs have him Fellow-Commoner," that he might be their companion. Too severe application to his studies brought on a state of health which, combined with frequent attacks of ague, for which malady Cambridge had at that time an unenviable notoriety, induced his medical adviser to recommend that he should leave the

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University for a while to travel on the Continent. Accordingly, having been permitted by a special grace to proceed to his degree of Master of Arts before the Commencement, Nicholas Ferrar left England in the train of the Princess Elizabeth, just married to the Elector Palatine. After five years of foreign travel—now at Leipzic, familiarizing himself with the mechanical processes of the most skilful artizans, or holding learned converse with eminent professors,—now at Rome, whither his reputation had preceded him, and where the fear of the Jesuits led him an uneasy life,—and lastly in Spain, where, his funds being exhausted and his supplies from England not arriving, he was compelled to foot it from Madrid to St Sebastian and encounter strange adventures—he returned to England, his health recruited and an honourable career before him. His own inclinations would have led him to seek again the seclusion of his little study at Clare Hall, but his father, who had been one of the earliest adventurers to Virginia, and was at this time organizing a systematic colonization of that country, induced him to give his services as secretary to a company which had been formed for the purpose. Nicholas entered into the scheme with ardour, and showed an ability in conducting the affairs of the company and defending it from the attacks to which it was exposed, that attracted the attention of royalty itself. In the year 1624, without any effort on his own part, he was elected member of Parliament, and his ability in the impeachment of the lord treasurer Cranfield was mainly instrumental in bringing that corrupt minister to justice. It was about this time also that, his father being now dead, the family became involved in financial difficulties which it required all Nicholas's ability to retrieve; to the success which ultimately crowned his efforts he was accustomed in after life to refer, as a special instance of the protection of

His travels.

His connection with the Virginia Company.

Elected M.P.

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an over-ruling power. In the year 1625 the plague broke out, carrying off as many as four thousand a week; Ferrar, in London, was in the midst of its ravages, two of the inmates of the house next to that which he occupied fell victims. During the preceding year his father had purchased a small property at a place called Little Gidding, in a lonely part of Huntingdonshire. The village, from different causes, had become nearly depopulated; a house which stood on the property was in a ruinous condition, and the church was used as a hay-loft. To this deserted spot it was one day reported, to the astonishment of all London, that Nicholas Ferrar meditated a retirement, that he had been ordained a deacon by Laud, and had thrown up all his chances of political preferment and worldly success to lead a religious and secluded life.

His retirement from public life.

Ferrar's first confidant was his old college tutor, Dr Linsell, "who was so ravished with joy to hear the resolution his pupil had so often debated with him in private brought at length to a blessed effect, that he was like one in a dream, and could scarce credit his own ears[1]." His next, his mother, to whom, on returning home the evening of the day of his ordination, he disclosed his intentions; "he entreated her to hear him read somewhat he had written in vellum and signed with his own hand: he drew it out from the place where he wore it next his heart. It was the solemn vow he had made to Almighty God, that since He had afforded so many gracious deliverances from so many perilous attempts of the devil and man upon his soul and body, and since now his family was rescued from a ruin so deplorable and unavoidable if God had not been infinitely good to them; he would now separate himself to serve God in this holy calling, to be the Levite himself in

[1] *Life*, by Dr Jebb, p. 226.

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his own house, and to make his own relations, which were many, his cure of souls."

His resolution, once formed, was carried out with unfailing consistency, and at Little Gidding—"Prayer all his business, all his pleasure praise"—this accomplished scholar and able politician passed the remainder of his life. The house was repaired; the church restored and beautified; and there, with his family and household, amounting in all to some thirty persons, a little religious community, "a congregation of saints, not walking after the flesh but after the spirit," was formed[1], among whom, in the language of Taylor, "the fire of devotion went not out by day nor by night." For an account of the daily routine of their life we must refer the reader to the original sources. Suffice to say that it elicited no little comment and uncharitable suspicion. "Envy or ignorance," says Hacket, "could guess no better at it, but that it was a Casa Professa, a convent packed together of some superstitious order beyond seas, or a nunnery, and that the sufferance of it looked towards a change in religion." The Puritan narrator lifts up his hands in astonishment, "Oh the stupid and blind devotion of these people, for men and women, in health, of able and active bodies and parts, to have no particular callings and betake themselves to I wot not what new form of fasting and prayer, and a contemplative idle life, a lip-labour devotion, and a will-worship[2]!"

His life at Little Gidding.

Criticism it provoked.

It is far from our purpose to hold up the "cloistered virtues" of the life which Nicholas Ferrar and his family henceforth led at Little Gidding as a model for imitation; but however little we may commend the example of this singular episode in modern monasticism, it is impossible

[1] Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*, Pt. II. 50.

[2] Hearne's *Langtoft*, 130.

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not to respect the spirit in which it was undertaken. Only those to whom the language of piety is but an unmeaning jargon will deride the deep convictions which led Nicholas Ferrar to turn, in the prime of manhood and the first flush of popularity and success, to that course of self-denial, austere observances, and humble duties, amid which religion became alike the pleasure and business of his life.

Matthew Robinson.

In our next and last example we at once recognise a character differing entirely in its type from that which we have just been considering. The vigils, fastings, and secluded life of Nicholas Ferrar formed no part of the more athletic virtues of Matthew Robinson, who rather represented that ideal character which, in the present day, a certain class of novelists have delighted to depict, as especially opposed to the conceptions of the Anglican school. He was born in 1628. His father, who was "a stout and popular gentleman" of the royalist party, died when his son was but twelve years of age. Having decided on the life of a student, Robinson first entered the University of Edinburgh in 1644, but being driven from thence by the plague in the following February, his next step was to enter at St John's College, as the pupil of Zachary Cawdrey,—a man distinguished both by his talents and his virtues, and destined to exercise no little influence on his pupil's opinions throughout his subsequent career. To metaphysics Robinson now devoted his chief attention and with marked success, so that, his biographer tells us,

His distaste for logic.

"whilst he was but senior freshman he was found in the bachelor schools disputing ably with the best of senior sophisters." "As to ethics," he further informs us, "(excepting some solid questions belonging thereunto) and physics (abstracted from anatomy, astronomy, meteorology, and the natural history at large), he thought these jejune studies not exceeding one month's enquiry." The Carte-

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sian philosophy, however, appears at once to have arrested his masculine intellect, and he soon obtained marked distinction in the study. "The closer study of divinity he then did not intend, only so much as it served him for discourse, dispute, and common exercises: but for school divinity and critical theology none were his equals; being able to tie such knots as few knew how to loose." Of an impetuous and ardent disposition, he entered keenly into the political agitations of the day, and when, just after he had succeeded to his degree of bachelor, the trial of King Charles was held in London, he "so passionately resented" the proceedings of the Puritan party, "that he forthwith left the University, going to London, which he had never visited before, to await the tragical issue." The only instance of his fasting that we find on record is upon this occasion, when "he joined with those who kept solemn days of fasting for the averting that national sin and judgment."

Political sympathies.

It is a proof of the natural bent of Robinson's genius, and of the progress of that Baconian spirit which was beginning to find expression in an increased attention to scientific research, that we find him devoting a large amount of his time to the study of anatomy. In enquiries of this character, Cambridge, as may well be supposed, afforded him little encouragement or assistance, and he was fain to refer some of his difficulties to the author of the *Religio Medici*, whose reputation already extended far beyond his native town of Norwich. To what extent Robinson might have prosecuted his studies in this direction we can only conjecture,—they were arrested by an unforeseen event. A family living, the presentation to which constituted the greater part of his patrimony, suddenly fell vacant, and, partly from prudential motives, partly at the earnest solicitation of his relatives, he ulti-

His anatomical studies.

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Accepts a family living.

mately decided on availing himself of the opportunity thus presented. The step once taken, he transferred to his sacred calling all the ardour and devotion which he had evinced in his scientific investigations. His merits as a rural clergyman are perhaps rather of that order which commends itself to a practical conception of active benevolence, than of that ideal standard which more readily attracts the theorist and wins the fancy. Unlike Ferrar, he would give both medicine and medical advice to his parishioners; and, like him, would pay his congregation to attend punctually at church; while "a hospital," i.e. alms-houses, adorned by his own manual skill as a carver in stone, and endowed schools, sufficiently attested his concern for the well-being of the poor. This preference for the practical is discernible, indeed, in his whole character. Though a staunch Episcopalian he looked upon church

His religious views.

ceremonies "as things indifferent," "never admiring them," says the narrator, "nor judging them otherwise than Calvin did, for tolerabiles ineptias." Along with Cawdrey and many other eminent divines of that day, he cherished no little respect and esteem for many members of the dissenting body. "Both were episcopal in their judgments, yet both were highly prized by their dissenting brethren for their piety and moderation: both much wished a reformation in the church in many particulars, and in that fatal Bartholomew-day, which silenced so many able ministers, these two did scruple at many things with the rest of the dissenters; and the bishop of the diocese took a great deal of pains to satisfy their doubts, that they might not be deserters among the rest of the dissenters."

His recreations.

If we add to these characteristics that, in his younger days, he kept "a small pack of beagles, with which he usually hunted once per week;" that he "never wanted a choice gelding of great value for his pleasure in galloping,

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and a beautiful, curiously going pad for his saddle;" that he had "a small stud of brood mares, the finest and largest that he could find out in the whole north;" that he appears to have considerably augmented his income by horse-dealing, and compiled a work on the rearing and management of horses, which nothing but professional considerations prevented him from giving to the world; and, finally, that the charger which carried the Duke of Monmouth at the memorable battle of Bothwell Bridge was bred from the stock of the Rev. Matthew Robinson, Vicar of Burneston,—we have perhaps said enough to show that the Puritan lament over the "contemplative idle life" of Ferrar and his household, would, in the present instance, have been totally uncalled for[1].

His attention to theology.

Nor do his theological studies appear to have suffered from the attention thus bestowed on more secular pursuits. His annotations on the whole Bible, in two large folios of manuscript, still remain to testify to his labours in this direction; he was a warm supporter in the matter of the publication of Poole's Synopsis; and a volume, entitled *Cassander Reformatus*, written with a view to satisfying the scruples of conscientious dissenters, proved the thoughtful earnestness with which he entered into the controversial questions of his day.

Matthew Robinson died in the sixty-sixth year of his age. The latter part of his life was a period of almost uninterrupted suffering from an excruciating complaint; his exemplary patience under this affliction, and the tone of unfeigned piety which pervaded those writings wherein he sometimes found a brief oblivion of his pain, sufficiently attested the reality of the religion he professed.

[1] It is almost unnecessary to observe how unjust it would be to judge these traits by the present standard of opinion. Such recreations involved nothing unbecoming to the clerical profession in the eyes of ordinary observers at that time. See Mr Mayor's note.

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It is obvious that, as a representative of the party to which he was theoretically allied, but little stress can be laid on the character and life of Matthew Robinson. His virtues were of a different order from those which generally distinguished the Anglican and the Platonic schools; he disliked Aristotle, nor is there any evidence that he set much value on Plato. His character, however, is worthy of note, if regarded simply as a contrast. Whatever importance we may be disposed to attach to his opinions as a theorist, it is evident that they were mainly formed under the influences of his college life. There are those who regard with small admiration the virtues of a More or a Mede; to whom a life of seclusion and philosophic study appears little better than a timorous repudiation of those duties of active life which it is intended all should share. Without entering upon this question, we may yet oppose to such objectors the character of Matthew Robinson, in evidence that the religious earnestness of Cambridge in those days could find expression in a simple unaffected zeal in the discharge of the duties of a parish priest, as well as in the retirement of academic life and the speculations of a philosophic enthusiasm.

Tolerant spirit of the Anglican party.

It is gratifying, in conclusion, to point to one noble trait of character, as common to one and all of those great men whom we have named. While possessing strongly defined convictions of their own, it is not a little to the honour of the great Anglican party, that, in times when controversy and an appeal to arms had called up all the passions most prejudicial to candour and forbearance, they retained, with but few exceptions, a respect for religious freedom not inferior to that of their opponents; and that they sought to compose the religious differences of their day by a spirit of compromise and forbearance which we may often seek in vain among the polemics of the Puritan

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school. We cannot then but enter an emphatic protest against such a method of treatment as that which, after depicting the character of Laud in its most unfavourable light,—exaggerating his public vices and ignoring his private virtues,—deliberately brings forward the darkened portrait thus drawn, as a fitting representation of the moral and intellectual qualities of most of those with whom that prelate was associated.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE CARTESIAN PHILOSOPHY.

FROM those more general characteristics which have formed the subject of the preceding chapter, we must now turn to devote a few pages to a special consideration of that new philosophy which, though of external growth, exerted so marked an effect on the thought of our University towards the latter part of the century, and aided so materially in that revolution in her studies which the close of the century beheld.

New schools of thought.

It is somewhat after the middle of the seventeenth century that we are first able to discern the influence of two widely dissimilar but not unfriendly schools of thought upon the mental tendencies of the time. The one, the product of a single intellect, and antagonistic or indifferent to nearly all pre-existing schools; the other, almost equally at variance with the traditional teachings of the day, but a natural development from those classical studies which we have already described.

Descartes.

It was in the winter of the year 1619 that a young French officer, pacing the snows of Neuberg on the Danube, the solitary scene of his winter-quarters, fell into a vein of philosophic speculation, favoured alike by his own genius and the circumstances of his situation. Though a soldier, he was not ignorant of letters. He had studied as a youth at the Jesuit College of La Flêche, and during his stay

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had gone through their entire course of literature and philosophy. What he had thus learnt had, however, been far from satisfying the requirements of an intellect singularly clear and penetrating, and it was now that he began to ponder on the futility of all the existing systems with which he was acquainted, and the singular disagreements prevalent among mankind respecting alike the methods and the results of scientific investigation. His musings took shape. The true road to knowledge he felt certain had yet to be discovered, and he resolved to lay aside all the notions he had imbibed and commence anew for himself; to admit nothing as true that he did not clearly perceive; and, having satisfied himself of the correctness of a few simple axioms, to proceed much after the manner of the geometers of his day, and submit all his conclusions to the test of a rigid induction. He acted up to his resolution,—devoting his first efforts to a few experiments in mathematics. The discovery of an important mathematical truth, at an early stage in his researches and in an almost accidental manner, convinced him of the correctness of his method, and encouraged by this success he pursued his studies with renewed zeal. He retired from the military profession, and the next nine years of his life were given to travel and observation in different European countries: having arrived at the conclusion that retirement and solitude were indispensable to the realization of his designs, he then betook himself to a secluded village in Holland, where he devoted his whole time and energies to a still more ardent prosecution of his labours. It was here that, in total isolation from his friends (to whom even his place of residence was unknown, though he appears to have maintained some correspondence with them), he submitted to a rigorous analysis those investigations into first principles which he afterwards embodied in his philosophy,

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and in 1637 the *Discours de la Methode* was given to the world.

Rapid spread of the Cartesian philosophy.

The defects and merits of this work are now so generally understood that it is unnecessary that we should enter upon any discussion of them here, we shall therefore confine our attention to those points where, in conjunction with the scarcely less celebrated *Meditations*, we find it operating with most potency as a new element in Cambridge thought. In its immediate effects on men's minds, the Cartesian philosophy, the great subjective philosophy of the century, far outshone its rival, the objective philosophy of Bacon. At first it would appear to have carried almost by storm the leading intellects of Europe. Arnauld, the eminent Jansenist, after a few objections raised in matters of detail, gave in his hearty adhesion to the doctrines which it inculcated; he was followed by Pascal, and in the course of the century we find, among fresh adherents, the names of Fenelon, Bossuet, and Descartes' own pupils Geulincx and Malebranche; in Holland, the Jew Spinoza proved an able defender of a system from which he afterwards derived still more startling conclusions[1]; in England, Henry More hastened to make common cause with a philosopher who so boldly threw down the gauntlet to the Aristotelian dogmatists, and whose principles so directly contravened the Epicurean notions of Hobbes and Gassendi; his antagonism to Hobbes alone sufficed to gain for the new comer the sympathies of many who recoiled from those Utilitarian views which that philosopher had so lucidly and unflinchingly put forth; his mathematical discoveries recommended him to the admiration and gratitude of that scanty but increasing band by whom such studies were cultivated; his doctrine of the immateriality of the soul was readily embraced

[1] Cousin, *Hist. Gen.* p. 409.

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by many who fancied they recognised therein a confirmation of their faith; while in the Universities, that growing class who were beginning to weary of the ceaseless cavilings and endless definitions of the schools, hailed, as a deliverer from a cruel bondage, the leader who pointed the road to certainty by another path than that of verbal nicety, and who refused to fetter his immortal "Cogito ergo sum" with the conditions of Aristotelian acceptance. Nor was his influence confined to philosophers and theologians; it penetrated every department of literature. In his own country it reached even the ears of humble and illiterate peasants. "The most celebrated French poets of his age, Molière alone excepted, delighted to quench their thirst at his spiritual fountain, and expounded the mysteries of his system on the notes of their tuneful lyres. When the writings of the illustrious philosopher had wellnigh incurred the displeasure of the Parisian senate, the hostile demonstration was averted by the burlesque pen of Boileau; and the genius of La Fontaine has left on record the delight with which it was wont to essay the rugged path of the Cartesian philosophy."

Claims of Bacon's and Descartes' philosophy compared.

So generally was his influence felt that Cousin has affirmed that, from the publication of his *Meditations* in 1642 to the end of the century, no philosophical work of any mark appeared which was not either for Descartes or about him. Reid, followed by Dugald Stewart, dated the origin of the true philosophy of the mind from the *Principia* of Descartes rather than from the *Organum* of Bacon or the *Essay* of Locke[1]; and Condorcet maintained that his illus-

[1] "Descartes est parvenu à la psychologie par un chemin qui lui est propre, et, comme nous venons de le voir, il l'a fondée sur des raisons parfaitement nouvelles qui l'autorisent à jamais. Il en est donc l'inventeur parmi nous, et c'est a ce titre qu'il est le veritable père de la philosophie moderne. La philosophie moderne, en effet, date du jour où la réflexion à

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Condorcet's comparison.

trious countryman, rather than Bacon, was the father of unfettered philosophical enquiry in Europe. "Bacon," says this distinguished writer, "though he possessed in a most eminent degree the genius of philosophy, did not unite with it the genius of the sciences; the methods proposed by him for the investigation of truth, consisting entirely of precepts he was unable to verify, had little or no effect in accelerating the rate of discovery. That honour was reserved for Descartes, who combined in himself the characteristic endowments of both his predecessors. If, in the physical sciences, his march be less sure than that of Galileo; if his logic be less cautious than that of Bacon; yet the very temerity of his errors was instrumental in the progress of the human race. He gave activity to minds which the circumspection of his rivals could not awaken from their lethargy. He called upon men to throw off the yoke of authority, acknowledging no influence but what reason should avow. And his call was obeyed by a multitude of followers, encouraged by the boldness and fascinated by the enthusiasm of their leader."

Neglect of the Baconian method.

It is not difficult to understand how the somewhat homely and plodding philosophy of Bacon became obscured by the meteor-like brilliancy of his great rival. The Baconian method was, for a long time, as undeservedly neglected as it was afterwards undeservedly praised. Even Hobbes, who had lived on terms of intimacy with the Chancellor, had nothing better to say of the Royal Society on its foundation, than that "if the name of a philosopher was to be obtained by relating a multifarious farrago of experiments, we might expect to see apothecaries, gardeners, and perfumers rank among philosophers[1]." The two lead-

été son instrument reconnu, et la psychologie son fondement." Cousin, *Hist. Gen.* 385.

[1] Whewell, *Hist. Moral Philosophy*, p. 53.

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ing features of that method,—the reduction of all intellects to one level, and the certainty which it promised in its results, seem hardly to have exercised a sufficient fascination over the thinkers of that age. They desired, for themselves, somewhat more liberty to indulge in the *anticipatio mentis*, and rather less drudgery in the *interpretatio naturæ;* the tedious researches and endless experiments of the Baconian method looked sadly unattractive when contrasted with a system which proposed to evolve by logical concatenation, from the internal consciousness, an entire system of the universe; and if to extend the *regnum hominis* was indeed the aim of philosophy, they would have preferred that the human intellect should more frequently be conceived as

> "Sailing with supreme dominion
> Through the azure deep of air,"

than as confined to earth by the "leaden feet" which Bacon suggested as desirable.

"I have," says Descartes, "remarked certain laws which God has so established in nature, and of which He has impressed such notions on our souls, that, after having sufficiently reflected on them, *we shall no longer doubt that they have been exactly observed in all which exists or has been created in the world.*" "Sciant homines," wrote Bacon, "quantum intersit, inter humanæ mentis idola et divinæ mentis ideas."

If, however, the philosophy of the one resorted too daringly to hypothesis, that of the other was certainly incumbered by serious impracticability of method. The theory of Descartes, of the evolution of the heavenly bodies by mechanical laws, has received confirmation from the theory of Laplace and still later investigations of science; while the Baconian method, so loudly bepraised, some thirty years ago, as the exemplification of practical English

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sense, has met, at the hands of our most competent living authorities, either with direct censure or very qualified commendation[1].

Cousin's estimate of the two philosophies.

The following criticism from the pen of M. Cousin is valuable as representing to no small extent the estimate of the metaphysicians of our day. "Quiconque entre dans l'étude de l'esprit humain par la voie de la réflexion, marche droit au but. Quiconque ne suit d'autre méthode que la méthode expérimentale de Bacon et de Newton, ne court pas le risque, il est vrai, de tomber dans les hypothèses extravagantes, mais se condamne à des circuits immenses qui aboutissent à des résultats médiocres. La méthode expérimentale est comme une grande route qui a deux sentiers différents, l'un qui conduit à la connaissance de la nature, l'autre à celle de l'esprit humain. Toute méthode générale se modifie nécessairement suivant le sujet particulier auquel elle s'applique. La méthode réflexive est une application spéciale de la méthode générale de l'observation et de l'induction, et, à ce titre, elle a ses règles à part; et

[1] Cf. Ellis and Spedding's edition of Bacon's *Works*. "That his [Bacon's] method is impracticable," says Mr Spedding, "cannot, I think, be denied, if we reflect not only that it never has produced any result, but also that the process by which scientific truths have been established cannot be so represented as even to appear to be in accordance with it." Mr Spedding's criticism is generally admitted to have done much towards placing the Baconian philosophy in its true light. Mr Mill (*Logic*, Vol. II. 454—456) has shewn that the real merit of Bacon's method, and that wherein its superiority to previous methods consisted, was the employment of *Verification*. "Bacon has judiciously observed that the *axiomata media* of every science principally constitute its value.....But I conceive him to have been radically wrong in his doctrine respecting the mode in which these *axiomata media* should be arrived at; though there is no proposition laid down in his works for which he has been more extravagantly eulogised. He enunciates as a universal rule that *induction* should proceed from the lowest to the middle principles, and from those to the highest, never reversing that order, and consequently leaving no room for the discovery of new principles by way of *deduction* at all."

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celui qui l'a comme le premier parmi les modernes, ce n'est pas Bacon, c'est Descartes[1]."

Another eminent countryman of Descartes has thus contrasted the services rendered by these two great men to the cause of science:—"Les exemples que Bacon avait demandé aux sciences naturelles, Descartes les demande aux sciences mathematiques. Le premier saisit le flambeau de l'expérience; le second s'attache à la chaîne des deductions rationelles. Le premier invoque l'autorité des faits, assemble, compare, co-ordonne les observations; le second invoque l'evidence intuitive des principes, et d'une seule proposition fait sortir la suite entière des demonstrations dont il compose la science. Ce que le génie de Bacon avait en étendue, celui de Descartes l'a en persévérance. Le premier, avide des connaissances positives, se plaçait toujours en présence des realités; le second, avide de combinaisons, s'isole de l'univers entier, et se replie en lui-même, se confiant aux seules forces de la méditation. Le premier suppose convenu, précisément, ce même témoignage des sens auquel la phisophie du second se termine comme à un corollaire." Degerando's.

It would be unjust to the genius of the French philosopher, not to recognise the fact that his belief in experiment was only subordinate to his belief in the reflective faculty. His whole life was devoted, with an ardour far greater than that of Bacon, to observation and the collection of scientific data. It would be difficult, indeed, to name any philosopher, ancient or modern, who has combined in so marked a degree a system essentially subjective in its conception, with such ardent investigations into the phenomena of nature. M. Cousin has ably repelled the notion that Descartes was a mere "réveur de génie." "Descartes est un des observateurs les plus assidus et les plus attentifs qu'il y ait jamais eu. On ne pourrait citer de son temps une Descartes not disposed to neglect experiment. Cousin's vindication.

[1] *Philosophie Ecossaise*, p. 307.

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science d'observation dont il ne se soit occupé avec passion. Il a dépensé sa modeste fortune en expériences de toute sorte. Dans ses voyages, il se portait avec empressement partout où il espérait rencontrer quelque phénomène un peu curieux. Partout il faisait des observations de météorologie, et recueillait des faits intéressants. Ayant entendu dire que les rose-croix possédaient des connaissances naturelles dont ils faisaient mystère, il tenta de pénétrer dans leur société pour apprendre leurs secrets. En Hollande, à Egmont et à Endegeest, il avait fait deux parties de sa maison, l'une où il couchait, prenait ses repas et recevait de rares visiteurs; l'autre réservée à ses travaux, et qui contenait un laboratoire de physique, un atelier, et une sorte d'amphithéâtre où, avec ses domestiques et quelques amis, il se livrait, sur des animaux morts ou vivants, à des expériences de physiologie et à des dissections anatomiques. Que de peines ne s'est il pas données pour vérifier et confirmer la circulation du sang! que de travaux délicats n'a-t-il pas entrepris en optique! Dans sa correspondance, on le voit pendant quelques années tout occupé à tailler des verres, à construire des lunettes et des pendules. C'est le besoin passionné d'expériences météorologiques sur une grande échelle qui le porta à quitter la Hollande et a braver le climat du Nord, qui le tua à 54 ans[1]."

Real differences between the two methods.

The real difference between the two philosophers was less in their main method than in the order of that method. Both started with scepticism as the fundamental condition of all true enquiry. Both insisted, with equal distinctness, on the observance of system in all research. And each seems to have anticipated that the rules which he laid down would render the human intellect, when employed in scientific discoveries, much the same service that mechanical inventions have afforded to manual labour, in placing

[1] Cousin, *Hist. Gen.* pp. 377, 378.

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on the same footing individuals of very different powers[1]. If Bacon condemns an undue *anticipation* of nature, he yet readily admitted the value and importance of a *provisional anticipation*, as the only rational guide of observation and experiment; while Descartes as readily allows the value and necessity of experiments as an indispensable condition of the verification of scientific induction. They trod what was in many respects a similar road, but started from opposite directions; Descartes, with an *à priori* hypothesis afterwards to be verified by facts; Bacon, with facts which should afterwards serve to test his hypothesis, if one there were.

Differences between Aristotelians and Cartesians.

The differences between Descartes and the Aristotelian philosophy of his time were of another order. "He bore," Mr Buckle has happily said, "precisely the same relation to the old systems of philosophy that Luther bore to the old systems of religion[2]." In this respect, the services rendered by our illustrious countryman cannot compare with those of his great rival. Descartes aimed at destroying root and branch the Aristotelian philosophy of his day, and he succeeded in his aim. He seems to have discerned, more clearly than Bacon, the distinction between the doctrines of Aristotle and the abuses of the schools. To him, with far greater justice, may be applied the well known lines,

> "The great deliverer he! who, from the gloom
> Of cloister'd monks and jargon-teaching schools,
> Led forth the true Philosophy, there long
> Held in the magic chains of words and forms
> And definitions void—."

[1] "Or dans tout ce traité nous tâcherons de suivre avec exactitude et d'aplanir les voies qui peuvent conduire l'homme à la découverte de la vérité, en sorte que *l'esprit le plus médiocre*, pourvu qu'il soit pénétré profondément de cette méthode, verra que la vérité ne lui est pas plus interdite qu'à tout autre, et que, s'il ignore quelque chose, ce n'est faute ni d'esprit ni de capacité." *Discours de la Méthode.*

[2] *Hist. of Civilization*, Vol. II. p. 82.

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In his hands the aversion to the Aristotelian philosophy which Bacon, when a boy of fifteen, carried with him from Cambridge, assumed the form of direct and specific censure. How far he was at variance with the Aristotelians of his day on the *vexata quæstio* of "ideas" is a point we may well decline to discuss, when even Sir William Hamilton has affirmed that "to determine with certainty what Descartes' theory of perception is, is perhaps impossible." That, one would think, must be a hopeless labyrinth of controversy to which the question opens up, when we find not merely the theories, but the meaning of some of the greatest thinkers, still affording material for such warm discussion. Later metaphysicians have been almost equally divided not merely upon the question whether Descartes were right or wrong, but as to what he really intended to convey. Were we to attempt the question it would be necessary to follow the history of the whole controversy:—Arnauld, maintaining that Descartes held the simpler theory of representation, and Malebranche ridiculing the idea that his master had deserted the Aristotelian theory; Reid, following Malebranche, accused of blundering seriously by Brown; Sir James Mackintosh commending Brown's theory and endorsing his censures; Brown, in his turn, succumbing to the resistless logic of Sir William Hamilton, and his "corrections" of Reid proved to be mostly misapprehensions, accompanied by flagrant misconception of the whole question; and finally, on the broad question of "ideas," we have recently seen Sir W. Hamilton himself sustaining what has been regarded by many as a signal defeat at the hands of Mr Mill, who has again reared the standard of Idealism in a field where he is, however, far from remaining in undisputed possession. It would seem not less a matter of modesty than discretion to steer clear of a

Descartes' theory of perception.

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maelstrom where so many philosophical reputations have gone down.

If, however, the language of Descartes might be held ambiguous with respect to one particular doctrine, the tendency of his whole philosophy was sufficiently intelligible. In our own University a heavy blow was inflicted upon the endless and word-splitting definitions of the schools. The barren employment on which for twenty centuries the human intellect had expended its highest powers, could no longer maintain its ground under the brief but luminous exposure of the logical error which it involved. The absurdity of seeking to define words expressive of notions too simple for analysis, when placed in so clear a light, struck dismay into skilful logomachists, who

Alarm of the Schools.

> "—could distinguish and divide
> A hair 'twixt south and south-west side."

Othello's occupation, if not gone, seemed likely to lose a large amount of both profit and prestige. In the posthumous dialogue, entitled, *A Search after Truth*, the author has distinctly shown how clearly he recognised both the bearings of the principle he had laid down, and the objections that his opponents would seek to raise against it[1]. "It is objected by one of the interlocutors, as it had actually been by Gassendi, that to prove his existence by the act of thinking, he should first know what existence and what thought is. 'I agree with you,' the representative of Descartes replies, 'that it is necessary to know what doubt is, and what thought is, before we can be fully persuaded of this reasoning—I *doubt*, therefore I am—or, what is the same—I think, therefore I am. But do not imagine that for this purpose you must torture your mind

[1] Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, II. 453.

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to find out the next genus, or the essential differences, as the logicians talk, and so compose a regular definition. *Leave this to such as teach or dispute in the schools.* But whoever will examine things by himself, and judge of them according to his understanding, cannot be so senseless as not to see clearly, when he pays attention, what doubting, thinking, being, are, or to have any need to learn their distinctions.'" "Mr Locke," says Stewart, "claims this improvement as entirely his own; but the merit of it unquestionably belongs to Descartes, although it must be owned that he has not always sufficiently attended to it in his researches[1]."

To enumerate the many services rendered by Descartes to metaphysical science is beyond our present purpose. Of these none was more valuable than the resuscitation of the distinction between the primary and secondary qualities of matter, a distinction which he was the first of modern philosophers to recall to notice, and which Locke, whose obligations to the Cartesian philosophy were more numerous than he cared to acknowledge, afterwards reproduced. The reader familiar with the leading points at issue between the metaphysicians of modern times, will not fail to recognise the important aid thus afforded to the prosecution of philosophical analysis.

The vagaries of the philosopher have often done more to win the attention of his contemporaries than his real merits. It was one of Descartes' most singular notions, contradictory too, as it would seem, of his main theory respecting the intercourse of mind and matter, that he asserted the seat of the soul to be the *pineal gland.* This notion, along with his theory of the immateriality of the soul, excited considerable discussion in the Universities,

[1] Dugald Stewart's *Dissertation.*

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and Matthew Prior, in his poem entitled *Alma*[1], ridiculed long afterwards the arguments of its defenders. The philosophy satirized by Prior.

"—Here Matthew said,
Alma in verse, in prose the mind,
By Aristotle's pen defined,
Throughout the body squat or tall,
Is *bonâ fide*, all in all,
And yet slap-dash is all again
In every sinew, nerve, and vein;
Runs here and there like Hamlet's ghost,
While everywhere she rules the roast.
This system, Richard, we are told,
The men of Oxford firmly hold;
The Cambridge wits you know deny
With *ipse dixit*[2] to comply.
They say (for in good truth they speak
With small respect of that old Greek)
That putting all his words together
'Tis three blue beans in one blue bladder.
Alma, they strenuously maintain,
Sits cock-horse on her throne, the brain,
And from that seat of thought dispenses
Her sovereign pleasure to the senses."

We shall hereafter have occasion to show in what opinion the philosophy of Descartes was held in our University as its principles became more fully understood. We have, in the present chapter, dealt rather with its general effects on English thought as a new and important element in the disturbing forces of the time. Revolutionary as were its teachings, they have earned alike the

[1] Written during Prior's confinement when awaiting his trial as a political offender, 1715—1717. *Alma*, poetical Italian for *Anima*,—*the Progress of the Mind* being the subject of the poem. Prior, who was a Fellow of St John's, seems to have studied the Cartesian philosophy:

"Burn Mat's Descartes and Aristotle."

Alma, Canto III.

Professor Playfair is of opinion that the Cartesian philosophy kept its ground at Cambridge for more than thirty years after the publication of Newton's discoveries in 1687. *Mus. Crit.* Vol. II. 515.

[2] Aristotle.

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gratitude of the metaphysician and the man of science. Much that was most valuable in them passed almost unrecognised into the writings of Locke, of Hume, and even of Berkeley, and the spirit of the founder still exercised a potent spell when his name was almost forgotten. His crowning service to the cause of philosophy was, in the language of Dugald Stewart, "the paramount and indisputable authority which, in all our reasonings concerning the human mind, it ascribes to the evidence of consciousness." "La question," says M. Cousin, "à l'ordre du jour au commencement du dix-septième siècle était celle de la certitude, de l'évidence; celle-là, Descartes l'a profondément traitée, et il l'a resolue à jamais."

Hobbes.

While the rival philosophies of Bacon and Descartes were thus stirring Europe, another great thinker had arisen, whose influence on the opinions of his own countrymen has been little inferior to theirs. We need scarcely say we allude to Hobbes. It was not as a mathematician or a man of science that the philosopher of Malmesbury left the impress of his thought upon the age. In the former capacity his pretensions were such as excited well-deserved ridicule; and it is certain that he very imperfectly appreciated the comprehensive spirit of the Baconian philosophy; but as a moralist, and a writer on the principles of government, he propounded opinions, of which some were too absurd for refutation, others such as few would readily adopt, but many were destined to largely join in moulding the habits of thought of succeeding generations. As the founder of the English school of Utilitarianism and the teacher of Locke, Paley, Bentham, and Mill, it would be difficult to overrate the influence of Hobbes, whether upon the graduates of our University or upon our countrymen at large.

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CHAPTER V.

THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS.

WHILE the Cartesian philosophy was thus spreading on the Continent and in England, a fresh source of intellectual activity was developing itself in that very remarkable school, which, confined chiefly to our own University, exercised, during a considerable part of the century, no small influence over her most studious and thoughtful minds. At first sight it would seem singular that there should be any sympathy whatever between a school of thought which was little more than a re-construction out of the philosophy of the past,—of that section of ancient philosophy moreover of which most modern thinkers are apt to speak with least tolerance,—and a system professedly hostile to all earlier modes of speculation, and which aimed at effecting a total revolution in the whole domain of philosophic research. Beyond the essentially subjective character which belonged alike to the philosophy of Descartes and that of Henry More, there would appear indeed to have been little in common save dissatisfaction with the existing state of things. The Platonism of the seventeenth century was not simply a revival of a past school of thought, but it was also an avowed declaration against Calvinistic doctrines and Aristotelian dogmas. More has sufficiently indicated this fact in his own narrative of himself. "But neither there" (at school), says he, "nor yet anywhere

Neo-Platonism.

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else could I ever swallow down that hard doctrine concerning *fate*. On the contrary, I remember that upon those words of Epictetus, Ἄγε με ὦ Ζεῦ, καί συ ἡ πεπρωμένη, 'Lead me, O Jupiter, and thou Fate,' I did (with my eldest brother, who then, as it happened, had accompanied my uncle thither), very stoutly and earnestly for my years, dispute against this Fate, or Calvinistic Predestination, as it is called." Of Rust, Glanvil tells us, "he was one of the first that overcame the prejudices of the late unhappy times, in the University, and was very instrumental to enlarge others. He had too great a soul for the trifles of that age, and saw early the nakedness of phrases and phancies. He outgrew the pretended orthodoxy of those days, and addicted himself to the primitive learning and theology, in which he even then became a great master." It is important also to recollect that the name of "Platonism," by which it was sought to describe the new philosophy, had reference not so much to the doctrines of the Attic founder of the old Academy as to that Eclectic school which, as Christianity grew strong, essayed to arrest it, in its onward march, by a compromise which should embrace all philosophy and all religion. It has been the fashion with certain writers to speak with unqualified contempt of this system as a last despairing effort of expiring Paganism, but it must be remembered that it also found no small countenance from the writings of some of the wisest and most liberal leaders of the Christianity of the period. Eclecticism was, indeed, a characteristic of all the various developments of philosophy which arose during the first five Christian centuries. It was thus that Philo Judæus brought all his great learning and ingenuity to the task of blending and reconciling the Greek philosophy with Jewish faith; that Plutarch, himself a priest of the Pythian Apollo, essayed the equally unpromising task of

Eclecticism the great characteristic of philosophy during the first five centuries.

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combining the culture of the old divinities with that spirit of enquiry into the laws of man's intellectual and moral nature which breathes through his *Moralia;* and that Numenius, in whose writings these theories assumed their most definite shape, could even bring himself seriously to ask, "What was Plato, but Moses speaking Greek?" It was thus, again, that within the pale of the Church itself there arose other systems fraught with far greater danger to the Christian faith. From the time of Pythagoras, the Greek mind seems ever and anon to have turned inquisitively yet reverentially towards those ancient seats of empire, where were still cherished the traditions of a primeval faith from which it was whispered the religion of the Hellenic race had itself originally sprung. The influences of a common ethnic origin, of Phœnician enterprise, and Ionic colonization, were still further developed by the conquests of Alexander and the beneficent rule of the Ptolemies. The Oriental and the Hellenic mind were brought into closer contact than they had before known. The Jew began to Platonize; the Greek to talk of theurgic arts, of the Persian duality, Ormuzd and Ahriman, the two contending principles of good and evil, ever striving for the mastery in man and nature. The Christian philosopher sought refuge in a theory of development, and endeavoured to show how heathen philosophy had but paved the way to a more perfect faith, and that the sages of Athens, no less than the Hebrew prophets, had foreshadowed the teachings of a more ample revelation. Of the former class, the writings of Philo and the Book of Ecclesiasticus afford perhaps the most notable instances; to the latter class belong the names of Pantænus, Clemens, Origen and St Augustine. Among the most conspicuous results of this spirit was the so-called Gnosticism of the second century; an appellation somewhat vaguely applied to different

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shades of philosophic heresy, both in the Alexandrian and Syrian Churches. Under such influences philosophy again took heart and prepared for new and still more ambitious flights in the regions of speculation.

Ammonius Saccas.

It is a matter of doubt how far *Ammonius Saccas*, who taught at Alexandria towards the close of the second century, was identified either with the orthodox or the philosophic party. His hearers were bound to secrecy, a fact which would seem to point at teachings of an esoteric character: among them we find the illustrious names of Longinus, Herennius, and both the Origens. One day, as Ammonius was lecturing, a young man, a native of Lycopolis, took his seat among the listeners. He was thirsting for philosophic truth, a wanderer from school to school, and his heart had grown heavy as he still found himself dissatisfied and on the search. As Ammonius discoursed, conviction fell upon his hearer: "This," exclaimed Plotinus, for he it was, "is the teacher I sought." For eleven years Plotinus continued in the school of Ammonius, a diligent and enthusiastic disciple. But the spell of Oriental mysticism was strong upon his soul. He sought to approach yet nearer to the fountain-head, and to visit those lands where a priestly race expounded the mysteries of a worship compared with which that of Jupiter Ammon or Cybele herself was but of yesterday. The expedition of Gordianus against the Persians, in the year 241, appeared to offer an opportunity of accomplishing his wish, and Plotinus attached himself to the Roman army; but the assassination of the youthful emperor in Mesopotamia proved fatal to the plans of the philosopher, who with difficulty effected his escape to Antioch. From Antioch he proceeded to Rome, and the remainder of his life was passed within the shores of Italy.

Plotinus.

"During the long period of his residence at Rome,"

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says Dr Donaldson[1], "Plotinus enjoyed an estimation almost approaching to a belief in his superhuman sanctity and wisdom. His ascetic virtue, and the mysterious transcendentalism of his conversation, which made him the Coleridge of the day, seems to have carried away the minds of his associates and raised them to a state of imaginative exaltation. He was regarded as a sort of prophet, divine himself, and capable of elevating his disciples to a participation in his divinity. Envious sorcerers could produce no effect on such a sage. Like the Brahmin hermits of the *Râmâyana*, he was magic proof, and when Olympius the Alexandrian, who had been his fellow-pupil in the school of Ammonius, endeavoured to make him star-stricken by his magic arts, the machinations recoiled on himself, and he was shrivelled up like a purse and all his limbs were distorted. Similarly, when the Egyptian priest came to Rome, and wished to exhibit his skill in calling up spirits, a god appeared as the tutelary spirit of Plotinus, instead of one of the inferior dæmons. These coincidences, or collusions, show how sacred a character had attached to Plotinus. And we see the same evidenced in his social influence. Men and women of the highest rank crowded around him, and his house was filled with young people of both sexes, whom their parents when dying had committed to his care. Rogatianus, a senator and prætor elect, gave up his wealth and dignities, and lived as the humble bedesman of his friends, devoting himself to ascetic and contemplative philosophy. His self-denial obtained for him the approbation of Plotinus, who held him up as a pattern of philosophy, and he gained the more solid advantage of a perfect cure from the worst kind

His celebrity in Italy.

[1] Donaldson and Müller's *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, Vol. III. p. 190.

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of rheumatic gout. The influence of Plotinus extended to the imperial throne itself. The weak-minded Gallienus and his empress Salonina were so completely guided by the philosopher, that he had actually obtained permission to convert a ruined city in Campania into a Platonopolis, in which the laws of Plato's *Republic* were to be tested by a practical experiment; and the philosopher had promised to retire thither accompanied by his chief friends. The execution of this visionary scheme was prevented by some of the emperor's advisers, not, we may suppose, from some bad motive, as Porphyry suggests, but because their judgment was sounder than that of Gallienus and his philosophical father confessor."

His ascetecism.

In his contempt for the body and persistent self-mortification, Plotinus rivalled the most famous ascetics. St Simeon Stylites himself, though given to severer penance, a doctrine which Plotinus did not recognise, could not have surpassed him in impatience of that frail and perishable tenement wherein the soul is fated to accomplish its earthly existence. His fastings were long and frequent; and when attacked by a pestilence which raged through Italy, he declined all the alleviations of art and eventually sank beneath the malady. His end was worthy of his past career. In the last stage of his illness he was conveyed from Rome to the Campanian villa of his friend Zethus; his friends—whether from fear of contagion Porphyry does not inform us—had failed to accompany him, and death found the philosopher almost alone. In his last moments, however, a disciple, Eustochius by name, arrived from Puteoli. "I am still waiting here," said Plotinus, with his last breath, "to take leave of you; and now I am endeavouring to lead up the divine principle which resides in us to that which lives in the universe." (*τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν θεῖον ἀνάγειν πρὸς τὸ ἐν παντὶ θεῖον.*)

His death.

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The illustration which the life of Plotinus affords of the philosophy of his school may be pleaded as a sufficient excuse for the length of the foregoing account, and we have given the above extract from the pen of Dr Donaldson, as the testimony of one who, though well fitted by scholarship and special research to appreciate the characteristics of this remarkable development of Platonism, was certainly far from being an admirer either of its spirit or its teachings.

It is chiefly from the writings of Plotinus that we derive our information respecting the doctrines of this school. Like the writings of Aristotle, and owing to similar circumstances attendant upon their transmission, they often fail to fully convey their author's meaning, and Porphyry, the disciple on whom their editorship devolved, despite his enthusiasm, found their arrangement no easy task. But, with all their defects of method and expression, it is generally admitted by competent scholars that the Enneads of Plotinus are characterised by considerable dialectic power, and abound with passages of a true and lofty eloquence. Of the doctrines therein inculcated we shall speak more fully hereafter, and for the present turn to trace the fortunes of the school. Of the disciples of Plotinus the most eminent were Amelius and Porphyry, though none can be said to have attained their master's reputation. It is significant of the comprehensive teaching of the new philosophy, that while these two vied with each other in their reverence for their teacher, the former was as distinguished by his respect and admiration for Christianity, as was the latter by his systematic and openly attested hostility. The student, whether of philosophy or Church history, has still to regret in the destruction of Porphyry's celebrated Letters against Christianity, the loss of an invaluable illustration of the state of feeling of both parties at this period.

Porphyry and Amelius.

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Iamblichus.

Iamblichus, the next writer of any eminence belonging to this school, is not generally considered to have sustained its philosophic reputation. He aimed at infusing into the Platonic doctrines a still larger amount of Oriental mysticism; and his treatise, *De Mysteriis*, is an elaborate effort at maintaining against the more intellectual element in Neo-Platonism the traditional theological dogmas of the Egyptian and Assyrian priesthoods. His life, by Eunapius, contains a large element of the marvellous. There we read how, like Socrates, he had his dæmon, which apprised him of dangers on a journey; how he was sometimes to be beheld at his devotions, like the mediæval saints, μετέωρος, suspended between earth and heaven; and how he evoked Eros and Anteros, in the form of two beautiful boys, at the waters of Gadara.

Patronised with enthusiasm by Julian, by whose esteem Iamblichus was specially honoured, Neo-Platonism still numbered not a few adherents, amid the rapid spread of the new religion. The learned were won by its intellectual vigour, the devout by its mysticism, the common throng by its pretended miracles and communion with the unseen world. The edicts of Theodosius, however, gave unmistakeable signs that the days of philosophic Paganism were numbered, and the tragedy of Hypatia's death, at the commencement of the following century, showed that philosophy could hope little from the forbearance of a Church now backed by the secular power. Yet once again before its final extinction it shone with great brilliancy at Athens.

Proclus.

With a learning not inferior to that of Porphyry and with far more sobriety of judgment, surrounded by a scanty band of faithful followers, and suspiciously regarded by the dominant power, Proclus ably sustained the reputation of his school. As a mathematician and a philologist he was unequalled in his own day—attainments which served

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to no small extent to redeem his philosophy from the reputation of impracticability under which it had already fallen; and a distinguished modern metaphysician, to whose enthusiasm and industry we are indebted for an admirable edition of the extant works of this writer, has eulogised his genius in terms which are generally held to require some qualification[1].

Decline and extinction of the school.

In the following century, forty-four years after the death of Proclus, Justinian closed the schools of Athens, and the voice of the philosopher was silent within her walls. The few who still professed allegiance to the ancient faith were scattered, some to Persia, others to the solitudes of Egyptian deserts. No doubt the heart of many a stern dogmatist glowed with triumph as he passed the once "studious walks and shades," studious now no longer, and the

"—olive-grove of Academe,"

deserted by the philosophic throng, and he exulted as he thought that the utterances of pagan wisdom and the speculations of a baneful scepticism were at an end and would trouble men no more. It is instructive to think how the teachings alike of the Academy and the Lyceum, rose again, to assert their sway in regions of which the wisest of the Fathers never dreamed; to note how, after a long unchallenged supremacy in our own land, they were destined to an almost equally complete eclipse, from which

[1] "I shall set it down as an established fact that nothing great was thought out by Iamblichus, Porphyry, and Plotinus, either in ethics, in metaphysics, or in physics, which is not found expressed more clearly and methodically in Proclus.....in whom it seems to me are combined, and from whom shine forth in no irregular or uncertain rays all the philosophical lights which have illustrated Greece in various times; to wit, Orpheus, Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, Plotinus, Porphyry and Iamblichus." Cousin, *Præfatio in Procli Opera*, quoted by Professor Maurice.

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they have again emerged with increased splendour; and it is especially interesting to note how that singular development of Platonism which we have thus briefly traced, and which,—partly from its inherent peculiarities and partly from the singular combination of elements out of which it sprung—seemed least likely to re-appear as one of the manifestions of modern thought, could come to be again a living philosophy, within the walls of an English University, kindling the enthusiasm and adding a fresh charm to the studies of some of its most distinguished sons.

Distinctive tenets of Neo-Platonism.

Some attention to the distinctive characteristics of the original philosophy and its exact relations to early Christianity, will probably enable us better to comprehend this singular episode in the history of English thought. We propose then to devote a few pages to this object, and in so doing shall freely avail ourselves of the valuable aid afforded by Professor Maurice's criticisms.

Neo-Platonism, as its name implies, was based on the teachings of the Old Academy. Though regarding Plato rather as the interpreter of yet more ancient systems, than as the originator of new truth, it was still chiefly from his recorded utterances that the later Platonists derived their creed. "No Father," says Professor Maurice, "could quote St Paul or St John with more absolute or child-like deference than that with which Plotinus habitually quotes Plato. His name is not often mentioned, but you find sentence after sentence beginning, 'He says;' and you never doubt for a moment that an oracle is appealed to, which may require elucidation, but from which there is no dissent." Few students familiar with the character and history of this school, can, we think, have failed at some time or other to indulge in speculations as to what might have been its fate had Christianity not come into the world. It may not unjustly be surmised that it would have found

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a far less fanciful and extravagant development. The conjunction of the heavenly bodies at its nativity attracted it, in the language of astrologers, into an eccentric orbit. "Plotinus," we are again quoting Professor Maurice, "was born into an age when it was impossible, or at least unspeakably difficult, to begin where Socrates began. The Christian teachers had been asserting pertinaciously, for two centuries, that there had been an actual revelation of the most transcendant mysteries; that princes and beggars might have communion with the Divine Nature; might be partakers of it. Every sage was bound to say whether this was his end, and how he hoped to attain it. He was forced to commence with a theology, and to explain how he connected it with the condition of humanity. Supposing he utterly discarded the doctrine of God taking human flesh, he must find some substitute for that doctrine; his ethics, his physics, his dialectics, would all depend upon it. If we forget those thoughts respecting the Absolute Being, and the Being in contact with man or with matter, which Numenius and Clemens have brought before us, the processes in the mind of Plotinus will be quite unintelligible to us. We shall suppose that he is wilfully and industriously combining some old notions of divinity with his Platonism, whereas the conjunction was inevitable." To solve this mystery, the relation of the perishable to the divine, was then the great effort and aim of this philosophy. Nor did Plotinus fail to propound a solution, but it differed widely from that of Christianity. Christianity taught how the Son of God stooped to dwell in human flesh, and to take upon him a corrupt and perishable nature. Plotinus taught how man, by mortification of the flesh, by prayer, and meditation, might hope to rise to the supreme and the divine. In this antithesis lies the key to much of the antagonism which a later period developed. In the second

Professor Maurice's criticism.

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book of the first Ennead, Plotinus gives some explanation of the ethical bearings of his system. Like Plato, he sought ever to recall the mind from that which was fleeting, changeable, and perishable, to that which was eternal and immutable, but his philosophic abstraction proceeded to yet greater lengths. The "ideas" of Plato were archetypes in the Divine Mind; the Divine Intelligence itself a positive entity, beneficent, the source of all good. With Plotinus, all individuality, all limitation, were imperfection; his conception of the Divine Nature was thus rather that of a negation of attributes than of One who could in any sense be apprehended by the human faculties. Whether he meant to assert the total absence of attributes in the Supreme One, or whether he simply denied the right of the human reason to infer the existence of such attributes as alone it is cognizant of, does not very clearly appear.

Resemblance to philosophy of Spinoza.

The chapter of Spinoza, "De Deo," if we omit its materialistic aspect, presents some striking points of resemblance to the conception of Plotinus[1]. Like Spinoza, Plotinus taught that in the Deity there could exist no moral good or evil; human virtues were rather purgatives with respect to our fleshly nature than a reflex of the divine; they might aid us indeed to rise nearer to the One, but they found no counterpart in Him.

With this cold and purely metaphysical conception of the Supreme Being was combined a singularly enthusiastic conception of the human soul. The soul is but an emanation from the Divine Nature. In the corruptible and degraded nature, in which it is doomed for a time to abide, it finds no satisfaction or peace, but ever

> "uneasy and confined from home
> Rests and expatiates in a life to come."

[1] "Omnis determinatio est negatio," was the fundamental idea in Spinoza's system.

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The Neo-Platonist might have adopted with little alteration much of the apostolic language. The flesh lusting against the Spirit and the Spirit striving with the flesh, was alike his teaching and experience, but from that far deeper mystery which Christianity inculcated, the corruption of man's moral nature, he would have and must have recoiled with aversion. That the soul might become obscured and whelmed in the lower nature to which it was for a time attached, was to him an intelligible theory; but that a particle of the divine, destined sooner or later to regain its primary source, should itself be by nature impure and evil, would have appeared to him a degrading doctrine. To all purely ethical and religious questions, Christianity had propounded a solution which no system of heathen philosophy could deign to accept. It was, indeed, in this respect "to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks, foolishness;" and it is rather in matters of abstract speculation that we must look for those indications which unmistakeably exist of an attempt to incorporate the mysteries of Christian belief[1].

There were, however, certain grand conceptions common to the Christian and the philosopher. Among them, that of human life, which, in both, was deeply tinged with

[1] Mr Archer Butler, in his *Lectures on Ancient Philosophy*, has very distinctly pointed out those conceptions which aimed at a parallelism to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. It is hardly necessary to say that these have no foundation in Plato. "The first principle of the universe is declared to be the One (τὸ ἕν).....The second principle is that which *contemplates* the One, and requires only it to exist. This is the Absolute Intelligence. Thus immediately interwoven with the primal unity, directly dependent upon it, addressing itself to it, alone worthy to behold it, it is manifest that intelligence is the first of existences, the highest essence in the world of reality and the foundation of every other.....The third principle in the Plotinian Triad is the Universal Soul, which is produced by, and reposes on, Intelligence, as Intelligence derives from the original Unity."

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Stoicism. Plotinus, no less than Paul, regarded life as a school, a discipline, a hard fight. The soul, as we have before said, he held, was an emanation from the One, the infinitely pure and good. For a brief season it is doomed to lapse from its high estate and is linked to a corporeal nature. This is its period of exile, probation, and danger. In proportion as man yields to the pleasures of sense, will he become lost to his higher and nobler instincts; the corporeal striveth against the spiritual; Nature herself, the external visible world, seeks to beguile and ensnare her offspring; the language of a modern poet not inaptly expresses the conception of the ancient philosopher:—

Its asceticism.

Its theory of life.

> "The homely nurse doth all she can
> To make her foster-child, her inmate man,
> Forget the glories he hath known,
> And that imperial palace whence he came."

But real happiness is not thus to be attained. It is only as the soul re-approaches its original source, and re-enters into communion with the Infinite and the Eternal, that it can satisfy the yearnings of its nature and attain to true felicity and repose. It is thus the great aim of all true philosophy, to aid in the attainment of this result. To this end the body must be mortified by abstinence; the soul purified and disciplined by meditation, self-introspection, and prayer, that, when the hour of its re-absorption arrives, it may return prepared for re-union with its primal source. It was thus that Plotinus taught that the virtues are to be regarded as purgative, not as entering into and becoming as it were part of the spiritual nature when thus exalted and refined, but as "separating that in man which is capable of converse with the noetic, the essentially pure, from that which is animal and earthly; and by this process preparing the reason for coming into contact with its highest object."

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And not only would such a life prepare the soul for a future and nobler existence, but even on earth, it was whispered, there were those whose virtues had been rewarded by a foretaste of this celestial union,

> "Who, rowing hard against the stream,
> Saw distant gates of Eden gleam,
> And did not dream it was a dream."

There were times when the soul, absorbed in contemplation and prayer, its vision concentrated on the ineffable splendour of that source from whence it had sprung, was conscious of an awful and new delight; the body, chastened and subdued, relaxed its hold, the spirit soared beyond the perishable and the material, and saw the One, the Immutable, the Eternal, face to face. Such was the ἔκστασις of Neo-Platonism. But these beatific visions were of rare occurrence. Plotinus himself hints at but three or four such experiences, and Porphyry tells us that he was sixty-eight years of age before he enjoyed a like revelation—the only one with which his long life was favoured.

Relations of Neo-Platonism to Christianity.

In the foregoing brief sketch, we have sought simply to bring under notice those features of Neo-Platonism which afford most illustration for our present purpose—the consideration of its relations to Christianity. If we now turn our attention to the main characteristics of that hardly less remarkable school of Christian thought which was growing up side by side with this philosophy, we can scarcely fail to be struck by the amount of sympathy which long existed between these two systems, and the absence of all bitterness of feeling in their antagonism. So long as Christianity was but one of the many religions of the time, struggling against persecution and carrying on its bloodless conquests by appeals to the hearts and under-

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standings of mankind, it could discuss with tolerance and even something of sympathy, the traditional teachings alike of the Stoic, the Peripatetic, and the Platonic schools.

Dr Donaldson's account.

"If we go back," says Dr Donaldson, "to the beginnings of the Christian Church, we can discern no traces of a repugnance to the classical literature of the age. The Apostle Paul, though he admits that the fundamental principles of the religion which he professed were to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness, did not, on this account, shrink from the rabbinical or classical learning in which he had been trained from his earliest years. He not only quotes the Greek poets directly, but shows tacitly that his mind was penetrated by the results of a long familiarity with them. St John, though his early advantages were not equal to those of the scholar of Tarsus and the pupil of Gamaliel, acquired in his later years, that is, in the period of his literary activity, no inconsiderable acquaintance with the writings of his age. And both he and St Paul had studied Philo. A similar cultivation must be conceded to Apollos, or Apollonius, whether he was or was not the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, *i. e.*, to the Hellenizing Jews of Alexandria. Even St James, who was settled at Jerusalem, shows that he had mastered the refinements of classical Greek, which implies that he had read some good authors. Without these accomplishments, we can hardly conceive that the first ministers and missionaries of the new religion could have been qualified to speak in the Areopagus, or to address manifestoes, which were often polemical tracts, to the acute and highly-educated inhabitants of the chief cities in Greece and Asia Minor; and the diffusion of revealed truth would have been checked by the deficiencies of its interpreters. This wise appropriation of all that was most graceful and humanizing in the philosophy and litera-

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ture of pagan Greece, was equally conspicuous in the age immediately succeeding that of the apostles[1]."

Sympathy of the Early Fathers.

It is to be noted that both Christianity and philosophy during the first four Christian centuries appeared under a twofold aspect. The former had, as we have already noticed, its philosophic element. Justin Martyr held "that the Word spoke through Socrates, when he refuted idol-worship, and that he and Heraclitus were virtually Christians, no less than Abraham and Elijah[2]." "It appears to me," says Clemens, "that this whole discipline of the Greeks, with philosophy itself, came down from God upon men, not according to a distinct pre-ordination, but in the same way as the rains pour themselves forth, both on the good ground and on the house-tops[3]." And again, "The same God, who gave the two testaments to the Jews and Christians, gave philosophy to the Greeks, δι' ἧς ὁ παντοκράτωρ παρ' Ἕλλησι δοξάζεται, by which the omnipotent God is glorified among the Greeks[4]." Elsewhere he explains what he means by philosophy,—"not the Stoic, or the Platonic, or the Epicurean, or the Aristotelic, but whatsoever hath been said in each of these sects well, teaching righteousness with reverent science. All this I call philosophy; to this I give the name Eclectic. But whatsoever they have cut out or cut off by their mere human reasonings, these I should never call divine." Such was the language of one of the ablest and most learned of the early defenders of the Christian faith. "The mind of Clemens," says Bunsen, "was bent on the union of science and faith, of thought and of life, of speculation and of historical revelation. This great object of his life led to his

Clemens of Alexandria.

[1] Donaldson and Müller's *Hist. of Literature of Ancient Greece*, Vol. III. 316.

[2] *Stromata*, c. VII. sec. 37, quoted by Prof. Maurice.

[3] *Ibid.* c. V.

[4] *Ibid.* c. VII. sec. 30.

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becoming the first Christian philosopher of the history of mankind. He believed in a universal plan of a Divine education of the human race, and tried to demonstrate it both speculatively and historically[1]." In the same spirit wrote Origen in the third century, and the like tone still lingers in many a page of the impassioned utterances of St Augustine.

Rivalry between Neo-Platonism and Christianity.

As Christianity grew strong, the philosophical element grew weak. The Dogmatists could now enforce their opinions by the very weapons which had opposed the early progress of their own creed. A state Church could no longer condescend to controversy and persuasion with those who impugned her authority and even dared to aim at usurpation. "When the temple of Serapis," says Professor Maurice, "was thrown down by the Christian zealots in Egypt, stirred up by the unprincipled Bishop Theophilus, a sign was given that the rites of Paganism belonged to the past and not to the present. They might be loved all the more by the antiquarian and sentimentalist, but a leader of armies, even if he had all Julian's natural taste and acquired cultivation, could scarcely seek to re-establish them. Hence an evident change is visible on both sides. A predominance of mysticism over every other tendency is characteristic of the heathen devotee. Practical wisdom, degenerating in most cases into worldly wisdom, becomes characteristic of the Churchman. The one asserts the invisible as his possession, and only now and then dreams that he may master the visible. The other begins to think that that is given to him to use and rule; the spiritual region, the Kingdom of Heaven, he claims as his too, but often chiefly that he may exclude the rest of men from it."

Justice will, however, lead us to recognise the existence

[1] Bunsen, *Christianity and Mankind*, I. 237.

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of strong temptation to a departure from a strictly tolerant spirit among the professed defenders of Christianity during this period. To the gradual predominance of the mystic or theurgic element in philosophy must undoubtedly be attributed much of that hostility which henceforth marks the conduct of the Christian Church. "To separate the communion with divine natures," we are again quoting Professor Maurice, "wherein consisted the prize and consummation of the new philosophy, from the practices of the magician, which had been hard at all times, was never harder than in the third century after Christ. Was the ascent of man into the divine region to produce no effect upon himself and upon the world? Was the spiritual in no way to assert its right to control and govern the material as well as to be emancipated from its dominion? The suffering man, of whom the ignorant Christians spoke, was alleged to have healed the sick and to have cast out devils; must not the divine sage be able to show that he can work greater, of course less common and useful miracles than these? Porphyry wavered between the necessity of asserting such a power for him that he might prove his elevation or confound adversaries, and the imminent danger of introducing all those dark imaginations and practices against which ancient philosophers had protested,—which their modern disciple Apollonius, at least in the commencement of his career, had set himself to encounter."

Iamblichus, "De Mysteriis."

The difficulties which beset the questions thus started, have received no little elucidation in the work *De Mysteriis*, ascribed to Iamblichus, of which we have already spoken. We have here the Platonist in whom the philosophic element predominated, and the Platonist in whom the theurgic element predominated, in direct contrast. The language of Professor Maurice respecting this treatise, of which Dr Donaldson has nothing better to say than that "it is filled

Professor Maurice's criticism thereon.

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with theurgic absurdities," may be quoted as an illustration of that development of English Platonism in our own day, which, free from the extravagances of the seventh century, has so widely pervaded much that is most valuable in our modern literature. The work itself is preceded by a letter from Porphyry to Anebon, an Egyptian prophet or priest, and "is a clever, sagacious, well-digested statement of the difficulties which a philosopher discovered, as well in the popular conceptions respecting the gods and dæmons, as in the whole mysteries of Theurgy[1]. This letter," continues Professor Maurice, "and the answer to it, form so memorable an event in philosophical history, that we think they are entitled to more attention than many larger works written by much greater men than Porphyry or his correspondent.....Merely to argue against the Christians, merely to show how portions of the old mythology might be made to give out a philosophical meaning, could never satisfy the Greek and Roman, still less the Egyptian and Oriental sages of the empire. Philosophy must resuscitate Paganism, or it would not fulfil its mission. If it did not explain and justify the operations of the old priest, if it could not establish an offensive and defensive alliance with him—it could not maintain its own ground, it would have to be cast aside as a mere dry ungenerative speculation. Such was the language which began to be heard more and more distinctly in the schools which adopted the theories of Ammonius or Plotinus; such was the tendency which Porphyry, after dallying with it for a time, at last girded himself to encounter."

We need hardly say that it was only the true philosopher who could thus dispassionately discuss, whether in

[1] Of the letter and its reply Professor Maurice has given an elaborate analysis, to which we must refer the reader. *Philosophy of the First Six Centuries*, p. 69—79.

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the fourth, the seventeenth, or the nineteenth century, the relations of pagan to Christian faith; nor, with the exception of Professor Maurice's treatise, are we aware of any English author who appears to have thoroughly investigated the subject. Most writers speak of these pretensions of paganism with indiscriminate contempt, as a last and desperate bid for popular support, on the part of a philosophy already tottering to its fall. In endeavouring to form a correct conception of the effects on the popular mind which such assumptions were likely to produce, it must be remembered that the truth of early Christianity was itself attested by the display of supernatural powers[1]. It is still a question of some difficulty how long the continuance of these was vouchsafed to the Church, but it is certain that such powers were claimed and recognised down to the death of Gregory Thaumaturgus, towards the close of the third century, and it is doubtless in opposition to those claims that we find the pagan philosopher opposing rival miracles. Those times were undoubtedly prone to credulity and mysticism, prolific in jugglery and impostures of the grossest kind, and could we bring ourselves to believe that Iamblichus and Plotinus enjoyed no higher reputation for honesty than such mountebanks as Alexander and Peregrinus, and others whom the satire of Lucian has gibbeted for the edification of posterity, the whole question were scarcely deserving of serious discussion. There can, however, be no graver offence against historic truth than the substitution of our own for a contemporary's estimate of the significance of past events. However little belief we may place in the pretended credentials of Joan of Arc, we

[1] The view most generally adopted, by writers of the Church of England, is, that the power of working miracles was not continued beyond those disciples upon whom the Apostles conferred it by the laying on of hands. For the historical view, see Lecky's *Hist. of Rationalism*, Vol. I.

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know that under the influence of a noble enthusiasm a simple peasant girl performed what able captains and valiant armies had been unable to accomplish. Her imposture, if we choose so to term it, was, in its results, a grave historical fact; it would be difficult to point out how, if a genuine inspiration, it could have accomplished more; but it is unnecessary to multiply instances to show how often the historian, not less than the metaphysician, must feel that the true distinction between the subjective and objective eludes his grasp; to speak in plainer language, how often he is puzzled to discriminate between a belief and a reality[1].

Claims of Neo Platonism to miraculous powers.

Now it is a sufficiently well substantiated fact, not simply that pagan philosophy assumed like powers to those displayed by the Christian Church, but that these assumptions were to a great extent credited by the Church itself[2]. Beelzebub and the powers of darkness, it was held, leagued themselves with infidelity to baffle and confound the truth. Our Lord himself cast out unclean spirits and conferred like powers on His disciples[3]. In the sacred narrative, the implied condemnation passed on Elymas and Simon Magus is not accompanied by any remark which would lead us to believe that their pretensions as sorcerers were utterly discredited; the language of our Lord, and also that of St Paul, expressly intimates that "great signs and wonders" would accompany the appearing of Antichrist; and when, in the reign of Diocletian, a governor of Bithynia was

[1] "Mysticism," says Mr Mill, "whether in the Vedas, the Platonists, or the Hegelians, is neither more nor less than ascribing objective existence to the subjective creation of our own faculties, to ideas or feelings in the mind." *Logic*, Vol. II. p. 320.

[2] Cf. Athenagoras, *Apology*, c. 20. Tertullian, *Apology*, c. 22. Clement's *Recognitions*, Bk. IV. c. 21. Also Cudworth's *Intellect. System*, c. V. sect. I.

[3] Luke xxiv. 24; 2 Thessalonians ii. 9.

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seeking to formally disprove the claims of Christianity, he could gravely adduce the mighty works of Apollonius of Tyana as rivaling those of the divine founder of Christianity; while even later theologians, like Tillemont and Cudworth, have been unable to avoid the conclusion that Apollonius was aided by diabolic agency,—a view to some extent countenanced by such a writer as Neander.

It is desirable to guard against misinterpretation. Nothing can be farther from our design than to insinuate aught of doubt, as some modern writers have done, respecting the miraculous element in Christianity by comparing it with the miraculous element in paganism. Writers of the Evidential school have long ago ably pointed out the important differences which separate the two—which enable us conscientiously to accept the one and to reject the other. But the genuineness of the pagan miracles is one thing, and the belief of the early Church in them, another; and if it can be shown, as it undoubtedly can, that that belief was sincere and general, we have perhaps the best explanation of the remarkable change which, with the close of the fourth century, came over the spirit of the Christian Church. The imperfect sketch we have given will yet serve to throw some light on the state of parties at that time. We see, on the one hand, the rational element in the pagan philosophy decreasing, and the pretension to the marvellous and supernatural assuming a more prominent place; we see, on the other hand, the philosophic school in the Christian Church becoming outnumbered and overruled by the dogmatic element. It is easy to see that philosophy no longer wore the same aspect, and the defenders of the faith no longer regarded it through the same medium. It was now no mere system of human error or, possibly, of partial truth; it had thrown down the gauntlet to Christianity in awful and mysterious combat; it stood leagued with Satan;

Effects of such claims on the policy of the Church.

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it had called in the aid of the powers of darkness to do battle with the ministers of light. In such a conflict there could be no compromise. The Christian stood pledged by every principle of his faith and dictate of his conscience to root out so dark a heresy from the land. To him Hypatia was a witch and Iamblichus a wizard. It was this conviction which lashed to fury the hatred of the dogmatist and levelled the stateliest temples in the dust.

To modern ears such a belief and such acts seem strangely dissonant from all the associations which we would fain connect with our conception of a primitive and simple Christianity; but it may serve to check the feeling of complacent superiority with which, as followers of a more enlightened faith, we may feel disposed to look on such manifestations of superstition and credulity, to recollect how in our own land, in the midst of the learning and piety characteristic of that period to which we are now about to return, the belief in witchcraft was an article of faith with the wisest and best of our forefathers, and could lead them to countenance, under the name of law, the infliction of the most brutal barbarities upon those of their fellow beings who were, by age and infirmity, especially marked out for the charity and compassion of mankind.

The Cambridge School.

If we have, in the foregoing pages, been led into somewhat lengthened detail, it may be hoped that our enquiry will prove not altogether useless in enabling us more intelligently to estimate the significance of the resuscitation of this philosophy in our own University. On reviewing the different influences in operation in the early part of the seventeenth century, we shall have no difficulty in discerning the *raison d'être* of Cambridge Platonism. There existed, at that time, an overweening admiration for antiquity; and a great, perhaps an excessive, devotion to classical studies. The general standard of classical taste

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was, as we have already seen, far from high, but at no period was the enthusiasm which inspired those studies more ardent or their range more comprehensive. The defect that characterised most of the scholars of the period was, undoubtedly, a too servile respect for ancient thought. There was too great a disposition to acquiesce in past opinions, simply because they appeared in a dead language;

"If 'twas not sense, at least 'twas Greek;"

and to look with reverence on feeble and illogical prose, because it had been written a good many centuries ago. If we add to this tendency the strong hold which Patristic literature had taken of the affections and sympathies of the learned, the natural,—we may say the inevitable,—course of the current of thought is easily to be conjectured. The bann under which such writers as Cyril and Tertullian had placed philosophy, had long been removed. Aristotle, as we have already seen, had been received into favour by the Church of Rome, and in the minds of many had become almost identified with her tenets. The literati of Italy had replaced Platonism on its pedestal. It is therefore small matter for surprise that the learning and enthusiasm of Cambridge should have chosen to take side with the catholic tone and generous thought which characterised the school of Clemens, Origen, and St Augustine, rather than with the intolerant and unlettered spirit which belonged to the ancient Dogmatists, and which was again to be recognised in the temper and teachings of the great majority of the Puritan party of the day. If we consider too, that some of the most eminent and popular college tutors of the time took pleasure in recommending the productions of Neo-Platonism to their pupils, and spoke with warm approval of the *Enneads* and the *De Mysteriis*, we cannot much wonder that youths such as More, Smith,

Elements of mysticism to be recognised in the seventeenth century.

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and Rust, full of studious ardour and reverence for antiquity, should have thus acquired an early bias towards mysticism, which the more mature judgment of manhood might hardly suffice to correct. To many it will probably appear a serious blemish in the features of this period, that writers, so little distinguished by sobriety of thought and singularly uncalculated to promote the formation of anything like fixed principles in life, should have been thus selected for the perusal of youth. The most satisfactory explanation is, perhaps, to be sought in the narrowing and deadening influences of the schools. The wiser tutors, who saw the depressing effects which Milton so well described, sought, it is to be presumed, in such studies, to provide a counteracting influence,—thinking, probably, enthusiasm better than ignorance, and religion, though tinged with mysticism, preferable to an empty formalism.

If we consider, finally, the superstitious spirit which characterised those times, a feature which appears so noticeably in both parties during the Civil War, we shall readily allow that a combination of influences singularly favoured the resuscitation of mystical philosophy[1].

It has been observed by an eminent metaphysician, the late M. Jouffroy[2], "that the historical eras, wherein mysticism has been most fully developed, have been precisely those in which human efforts were most discouraged

[1] Besides the belief in witchcraft, to which I have already adverted, and respecting which see an interesting chapter in Lecky's *Hist. of Rationalism*, Vol. I., there was a *learned* belief at this time in Dæmonology generally. Cudworth, so late as 1678, writes thus: "To conclude; all these extraordinary phenomena of apparitions, witchcrafts, possessions, miracles, and prophecies, do evince that spirits, angels, or demons, though invisible to us, are no fancies, but real and substantial inhabitants of the world." *Intell. System*, III. 28.

[2] Jouffroy's *Introduction to Ethics*, American edit. Vol. I. 124.

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by profound experience of their fruitlessness." The moral aspect of the times when Henry More first began to write, (his *Psychozoia* was published in 1640,) will certainly not tend to invalidate this theory; and even when the Restoration came, and the heavy after-swell of the great storm had in some measure subsided, the posture of affairs was scarcely more hopeful to the lover of his country. The philosophy of Hobbes and the example of a licentious court threatened to subvert the first principles of morality. The Church of England, shaken to her very centre by the Act of Uniformity, seemed destined to disunion and strife. What wonder if, amid such national disquietude and gloom, the college recluse turned more lovingly than ever to his ponderous tomes, and sought to forget the present in communion with the past?

Dr Henry More.

We have already, in a preceding chapter, briefly delineated some of those traits of character which obtained for Henry More the appellation of "the Angel of Christ's College." A singularly gentle, thoughtful, and imaginative nature, trained to those habits of self-discipline and devotional meditation especially inculcated by the Anglican school, cast amid the glowing speculations and mystical utterances of the Platonists, his life, from boyhood, passed in the seclusion of a college,—under such circumstances it is easy to understand the philosophic bias of the founder of Cambridge Platonism. It may be said of More that he illustrated his philosophy quite as much by his life as by his works. Plato himself, we suspect, would have been inclined to pronounce his disciple's character deficient in the third element,—the *θυμοειδές*. He had a somewhat too sensuous delight in the charms of nature, too great a fondness for seclusion, and the rapturous tone with which he was wont to speak of his contemplative experiences would almost suggest, in a character of less

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undoubted simplicity and honour, a want of common honesty of purpose[1]. The influences of his natural temperament seem to have been hardly sufficiently controlled by his judgment; and it must be confessed that the serenity of mind and spiritual ecstasies, which his friends inform us he enjoyed, remind us rather of the beatification of the opium eater, than the healthy calm resulting from a natural equipoise of the faculties. To him we feel tempted to apply the lines,

> "Not that the grounds of hope were fix'd,
> The elements were kindlier mix'd;"

and if he attained to a deeper assurance and more vivid faith than many who wrestled with doubt in those days of spiritual conflict and trial, we infer that it was the result of constitutional bias quite as much as of rational enquiry.

Influence and character of his writings.

His "Mystery of Godliness."

A very slight acquaintance with his writings will tend, we think, to confirm this impression. Among the most popular of his works was his *Mystery of Godliness*, and it is in this that he endeavours to explain, more fully than he had hitherto done, his views respecting the mutual relations of philosophy and Christianity. Possessed of considerable eloquence and a perfect mastery of the language, More contrived to invest his writings with a charm which disguised to some extent their real deficiencies in clearness and exactness of thought. "No reader," says Professor Maurice, "can, we think, consider the book a satisfactory one. The history and the mystery are not livingly associated; they blend awkwardly together. One is a supplement to the other, a sort of protection against

Professor Maurice's criticism thereon.

[1] It seems to have been More's wish, without directly asserting the fact, to lead his friends to believe that he had himself enjoyed the ἔκστασις of Plotinus. See *Life* by Ward, pp. 15, 42, 55, 84.

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the excesses of the other. By a hard and rude classification, clumsier even than Cudworth's classification of the old philosophers, heathens and Jews are thrown together as knowing nothing higher than the spiritual life. What is more perplexing and unaccountable in a man of More's tendencies, he can only explain any apprehension of divine mysteries which he finds among the heathen, by the assumption that Pythagoras somehow or other obtained hints of Jewish traditions; so that the unspiritual Hebrew becomes the necessary and inevitable medium of transmitting spiritual apprehensions to the equally unspiritual Gentile. One longs for a little more distinct acknowledgment of a Spirit of God in this highly spiritual man."

Notwithstanding their defects, the writings of More attained to considerable popularity among the religious public of his day. If his admirers were not always quite sure of his meaning, they did not fail to give so amiable and accomplished a writer credit for the best intentions,—an exercise of charity not always extended to his far more learned and acute fellow-philosopher, Cudworth. Even Hobbes declared, that should he ever see reason to doubt the truth of his own philosophical principles, he would embrace those of Dr More; and Addison speaks in warm praise of the ethical system developed in the *Enchiridion Ethicum*. An amusing anecdote is related in the anonymous life of Isaac Milles, a pious and eminent clergyman of that period, which may serve to illustrate the somewhat vague tendencies of More's works. Milles was at that time settled as vicar at Chipping Wiccomb, near Oxford. Among his parishioners was a gentleman named Archdale, distinguished, it would seem, by what was probably rare among the country squires of that period,—a taste for theological literature. In the course of his reading he

Isaac Milles's account.

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became acquainted with the works of Dr Henry More, and the result was that, shortly after, Milles was shocked to hear that his parishioner had turned Quaker. The good vicar left no expedient unturned to disabuse his parishioner's mind of such heterodox conclusions, but the only reply vouchsafed by Archdale was the advice to Milles, to himself study the productions of the Cambridge divine. "No man," said the squire, "had asserted so plainly and advantageously the notion of Friends concerning the assistance of the Holy Spirit and the Light within, as that doctor had;" to which Milles could only reply, "that he hoped Dr More had nowhere asserted so erroneous and groundless a doctrine." Despairing of success by his unaided efforts, Milles consulted two friends, likewise clergymen in the neighbourhood, and after some discussion it was resolved to communicate the matter to More himself, and to request him to endeavour, by a letter addressed to Archdale, to dissipate the undesirable impressions which the latter had derived from the doctor's writings. One of the three, Dodwell by name, to whom More was personally known, undertook to make the application. "After some time," says the narrator, "Mr Dodwell received a letter from Dr More, together with one enclosed to Mr Archdale, which was sent unsealed; and Mr Dodwell was desired after his friend Mr Borage (the third clergyman) had perused it, to convey it, sealed, to Mr Archdale, by the hands of the vicar of Wiccomb. But after this letter had been deliberately read over two or three times, the three gentlemen before mentioned were unanimously of opinion that it would be better entirely to suppress the doctor's letter than to deliver it to Mr Archdale; *for it was more likely to confirm him in his Quaker opinions than to induce him to forsake them.*"

When we couple with this anecdote the character of

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the Quakerism of the period, it must be owned that it wears a somewhat ludicrous air. The fellow of Christ's, one would think, could have had but little in common with a sect which attacked all learning as useless, which was constantly inveighing against the Universities and the clergy, and whose half-crazed founder, on passing through Cambridge a few years before, had been mobbed by the undergraduates[1].

His "Psychozoia."

The poetry of More partakes of some of the defects of his prose writings. Thomas Campbell said of it, that "it is not like a beautiful landscape on which the eye can repose, but may be compared to some curious grotto, whose gloomy labyrinths we might be curious to explore for the strange and mystic associations they excite." The following stanzas from the *Psychozoia* are evidently a Neo-Platonic conception in a poetic garb;

"Like to a light fast locked in lanthorn dark,
Whereby by night our wary steps we guide
In slabby streets, and dirty channels mark,
Some weaker rays through the black top do glide,
And flusher streams, perhaps, from horny side.
But when we've passed the peril of the way,
Arrived at home, and laid that case aside,

[1] "That evening I passed to Cambridge: And when I came into the Town, the Scholars hearing of me, were up, and were exceeding Rude. I kept on my Horse's Back, and rid through them in the Lord's Power: but they Unhorst Amos Stoddart, before he could get to the Inn. When we were in the Inn, they were so rude there in the Courts, and in the Streets, that the Miners, the Colliers and Carters could never be Ruder. The People of the House asked us, What we would have for Supper? as is the usuall way of Inn-keepers: 'Supper!' said I, 'were it not that the Lord's Power is over them, these Rude Scholars look as if they would pluck us in pieces, and make a Supper of us!" They knew, I was so against their Trade, the Trade of Preaching, which they were there as Apprentices to learn; that they raged as bad as ever did Diana's Craftsmen against Paul." George Fox's Diary, quoted in Cooper's *Annals*, III. 464. Cf. also Macaulay's *Hist. of England*, IV. 25.

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The naked light how clearly doth it ray,
And spread its joyful beams as bright as summer's day.

"Even so the soul, in this contracted state,
Confined to these straight instruments of sense,
More dull and narrowly doth operate;
At this hole hears, the sight must ray from thence,
Here tastes, there smells: but when she's gone from hence,
Like naked lamp she is one shining sphere,
And round about has perfect cognoscence
Whate'er in her horizon doth appear:
She is one orb of sense, all eye, all airy ear."

Like Milton, More was an enthusiastic admirer of Spenser, and, in the dedication of the *Psychozoia* to his father, we learn under what circumstances he first became acquainted with the rhythm of the Spenserian stanza. "You having," says he, "from my childhood turned my ears to Spenser's rhymes, entertaining us on winter's nights with that incomparable piece of his, *The Fairy Queen*, a poem as richly fraught with divine morality as fancy."

While More was in his early undergraduateship, Milton was still to be seen passing in and out the gates of Christ's College, long ago chafing at the narrow and lifeless routine of academic studies, and already daring to think his beloved Spenser "a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas." The interval between their respective entries precludes all probability of there having existed any intimacy between them. When we think how much there was in common, and how much of contrast, between these two characters, we cannot quite check a feeling of regret that so the fates had ordered it. It would, surely, have been a gain to each to have known the other. We picture to ourselves how More's gentle and loving spirit would have clung, almost in adoration, to that imperial genius; how his mystic flights and overwrought enthusiasm would

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have been restrained and disciplined by the other's chaste classic taste and masculine sense. We cannot but think that Milton, too, would have been a gainer by such a friendship. We think how his haughty reserve would have melted, in intercourse with so pure and unselfish a nature; how the asperities of his political life might have been lessened, under the spell of a gentler spirit; how that More might have succeeded to the place of him, whom "the fatal and perfidious bark" betrayed to a "watery bier," and another Lycidas might have been given to soothe in after life, with the offices of friendship, the darkness, the loneliness, and the deserted hearth, which it was Milton's lot to know.

Dr Ralph Cudworth.

In Dr Ralph Cudworth we have another eminent representative of the school of Henry More. He was contemporary, as a student, with More, but graduated at Emmanuel College, of which he was subsequently elected a fellow. During a considerable period he was distinguished by his success as a private tutor, and it is mentioned as an extraordinary fact that he had, at one time, as many as twenty-eight pupils; "an instance," says his biographer, "scarce ever known before, even in the largest colleges." Among them was the celebrated Sir William Temple, into whom we may certainly give Cudworth credit for having instilled, if not much of his learning, at least some of his veneration for antiquity. In 1654, Cudworth, under Puritan auspices, was elected master of Christ's College; an office he continued to hold until his death in 1688, and thus takes his place as another in the long line of philosophic moralists by which that College is adorned.

His "Intellectual System."

His *magnum opus*, the *Intellectual System*, was published only ten years before his death; the achievement of a long and studious life, it certainly deserved a better reception than was generally accorded it by the public of

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the day[1]. In this ponderous work, Cambridge Platonism assumes a very different aspect from that which it wears in the writings of Henry More. There is method, logical consistency, and a uniform plan perceptible throughout the work, and if the writer sometimes appears overwhelmed by the wealth of his own erudition, it must be allowed that he has so much the more enriched his book as a treasury of the opinions of antiquity upon one all-important subject.

The full title of the work is, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe, wherein all the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism is confuted, and its Impossibility demonstrated.* There can be little doubt that the writings of Hobbes were the occasion of its production. That philosopher, in his *Letter upon Liberty and Necessity,* published in 1654, had directly controverted the doctrine of human freedom; and it is against all necessitarian theories that a large proportion of Cudworth's arguments is levelled.

In the preface is still preserved the author's plan of the entire work; for, though represented in three bulky octavo volumes, the *Intellectual System* is only an instalment of the original design. Mortification, it is said, at the unfavourable criticisms which the first part of the work elicited, made the author careless respecting its completion. The *first* book was to be directed against "Atheism (which is the Democritic fate) wherein all the

[1] It may perhaps appear slightly inconsistent to seek to illustrate the first half of the century by writings which appeared so late in the latter half. But it must be remembered that our object is to ascertain the results and influences of *early academic studies*, and the Platonists in their whole training and habits of thought entirely belonged to the former period. The Treatise on *Eternal and Immutable Morality* exercised no influence on the thought of Cudworth's day; it remained unpublished among his manuscripts until 1731, when it was edited by Chandler, bishop of Durham.

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reason and philosophy thereof is repelled, and the existence of a God demonstrated; and so that ὑλικὴ ἀνάγκη, or 'material necessity' of all things, overthrown. The *second* for such a God, as is not mere arbitrary will omnipotent, decreeing, doing, and necessitating all actions, evil as well as good, but *essentially moral, good and just;* and for a natural *discrimen honestorum et turpium,* whereby another ground of the necessity of all human actions will be removed. And the *third* and last, against necessity intrinsical and essential to all action, and for such a liberty, or *sui potestas,* in rational creatures as may render them accountable, capable of rewards and punishments, and so objects of distributive or retributive justice; by which the now only remaining ground of the fatal necessity of all actions and events will be taken away."

Of this comprehensive scheme we possess little more than the first part, the second and third arguments being but very lightly touched on in the *Intellectual System.* The treatise on *Eternal and Immutable Morality* was apparently designed either to supply the place, or to form part, of the second book. Respecting this production we shall hereafter have an opportunity of making a few remarks.

Whether out of deference to that royal patronage with which Hobbes was favoured, or from some other cause, it is noticeable that he is never mentioned by name, and it is singular that in those passages where he is quoted as "a modern writer," or by some other general designation, the quotation is never verified by reference to the original work, and, in several instances, is rather a paraphrase of Hobbes's meaning than his actual language. It is beyond the scope of our present design to attempt to enter into detailed criticism with respect to so learned and laborious a work, but we venture to predict that whoever

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will undertake to form an independent opinion of its merits will find it far less tedious reading than many a more modern contribution to controversial philosophy. Though scarcely equal to his acute antagonist in argumentative power, Cudworth was undoubtedly the superior in information. Hobbes, indeed, notwithstanding his scholarly appreciation of Thucydides, was not a learned man, and always affected to despise the advantages of extensive and varied reading. On more than one point he thus stood convicted of positive mistakes, when he had ventured to hazard some general statement respecting antiquity.

His theory of a Plastic Medium.

It is in his *Intellectual System* that Cudworth brings forward his theory of a Plastic Medium. To account for the intercourse of substances so dissimilar as mind and body had long taxed the ingenuity of philosophers. To solve this enigma, Descartes propounded his hypothesis of Occasional Causes; Leibnitz, that of a Preconceived Harmony; and the schoolmen, followed by most modern speculators, that of Physical Influence; while Cudworth's hypothesis supposed a medium "participating of the two natures; partly material, partly spiritual." "This hypothesis," says Laromiguière[1], "is too absurd for refutation, it annihilates itself. Between an extended and unextended substance there can be no middle existence; these being not simply different in degree, but contradictory. If the medium be neither body nor soul, it is a chimera; if it is at once body and soul, it is contradictory; or, if to avoid the contradiction, it is said to be, like us, the union of soul and body, it is itself in want of a medium."

Cudworth's theory, for which he appears to have been indebted to his familiarity with the later Platonists[2], ob-

[1] Quoted by Sir William Hamilton, *Lect. on Metaphysics*, Vol. I. 305.

[2] "This conjecture, which Plato only obscurely hinted at, was elabo-

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tained but little currency; it was, indeed, espoused by Le Clerc, and feebly defended by him against the sagacity of Bayle, but has failed to receive the sanction of any modern philosopher.

Views of the Platonists respecting the Cartesian philosophy.

A glance at the advertisements of the Cambridge booksellers of this period generally shows the *Introductio ad Cartesium* and the *Cartesii Epistolæ* figuring side by side with ordinary text-books like Ramus's *Logic* and More's *Enchiridion*. We have already observed that the presence of common enemies seems to have formed the main bond of union between the new philosophy at Cambridge and the new philosophy abroad. As time advanced, and the distinctive tenets of the two schools became more clearly understood, it became increasingly evident how little they had in common. The later writings of More evince a consciousness of the fact. His mystic tendencies continued to increase, but his admiration for the Cartesian philosophy became less strong. "When we consider," says Dr Whewell[1], "the want of reverence to the ancient philosophers which pervaded Descartes' style of philosophizing, and the materialist aspect of his physical doctrines, this admiration of him on the part of More may seem somewhat strange and inconsistent. Yet we find this tendency in other works of the same school, as in the *Intellectual System* of Cudworth. And it may, I think, be in a great measure explained. Besides that the Cartesian philosophy embodied and systematized many of the new discoveries in the natural world, which no person of clear intellect and active mind could fail to assent to, when the evidence was fairly before him;—besides, too,

Dr Whewell's comments.

rated with peculiar partiality by his followers of the Alexandrian school, and, in their psychology, the ὄχος, or vehicle of the soul,—the medium through which it is united to the body,—is a prominent element and distinctive principle." Hamilton, *Lect.* I. 307.

[1] *Lectures on the History of Moral Phil.* p. 64.

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the charm arising from the subtle and acute metaphysical spirit of the French reformer of philosophy; there was a positive principle involved in his speculations, which was very congenial to the profound idealism of More, which we shall see adopted by other writers of the same temper; and which may perhaps be found to contain the true solution of the apparent opposition between the empirical methods which have led to the discoveries of modern times, and the *à priori* truths on which the admirers of antiquity love to speculate. This principle is the consideration of all natural events and states as governed and determined by *Laws*. This is really the ideal element which pervades modern physical philosophy; and this element prevents it from presenting, as it is sometimes supposed by its admirers to present, a mere assemblage of external phenomena, discrediting the belief in the independent faculties of the mind."

To these considerations we may add the Cartesian theory of the immateriality of the soul; a doctrine which seems especially to have captivated the fancy of More. In his treatise on the *Immortality of the Soul*, one of the most satisfactory of his productions, he thus sums up the conclusion:—"We have now finished our discourse, the summary result whereof is this; that there is an *incorporeal* substance, and that in man, which we call his soul. That this soul of his subsists and acts after the death of his body, and that usually first in an aerial vehicle, as other demons do; wherein she is not exempt from fate, but is then perfect and secure when she has obtained her ætherial one; she being then out of the reach of that evil principle, whose dominion is commensurable with misery and death[1]." There was, also, a strong sympathy arising out of a common dislike to what, as it then existed, we

[1] More's *Philosophical Works*, p. 233, edit. of 1662.

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may fairly term the tyranny of Aristotle. In a like feeling of insubordination towards the Stagirite, the Cartesians and Platonists had much in common. More is always glad to compliment Descartes at the expense of Aristotle. Thus, writing to Clerselier, he says, "For the Peripatetics pretend that there are certain substantial forms emanating from matter, and so united to it that they cannot subsist without it, to which class these philosophers refer the evils of almost all living things; even those to which they allow sensation and thought; while the Epicureans, on the other hand, who laugh at substantial forms, ascribe thought to matter itself; so that it is M. Descartes alone, of all philosophers, who has at once banished from philosophy all those substantial forms or souls derived from matter, and absolutely divested matter itself of the faculty of feeling and thinking." Common antipathies, however, will not long supply the place of common principles. The longer More lived, the less enthusiastic in this respect did he become. "Descartes' philosophy," he writes, at a later period, "is indeed a fine, neat, subtil thing; but for the true ornament of the mind, bears no greater proportion to that principle I told you of, than the dry bones of a snake made up elegantly into a hat-band to the royal clothing of Solomon. But other natural philosophies, in respect of Descartes his, are even less than a few chips of wood to a well erected fabrick[1]."

Having endeavoured to estimate the real amount of sympathy between the two schools, we shall perhaps gain a somewhat clearer conception of their relations, by a brief examination, also, of some of their points of difference. In the "Intellectual System," these come out in strong relief, nor will it be easy to discover much of that admiration for

Cudworth's criticisms on Descartes.

[1] See, also, Hallam, *Lit. of the Middle Ages*, Vol. II. p. 443, and *Epist. ad Virum Clariss. de Cartesio*, appended to the *Enchiridion*.

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Descartes of which Dr Whewell speaks. On the contrary, the Cartesian philosophy is everywhere the object of condemnation and dislike[1]. Even Aristotle is quoted with approval against the theory of mechanical laws; the hypothesis of a Plastic Medium is maintained with considerable acerbity against that of Occasional Causes, from which, perhaps, it did not materially differ; and the method by which Descartes, in his *De Homine*, had attempted to explain the motion of the heart, is pronounced "unphilosophical and absurd[2]",—a censure which would certainly have come with more grace from the lips of a Hervey than those of Cudworth. "It cannot be denied," writes the latter, "but that even some of the ancient religious Atomists were also too much affected with this mechanizing humour; but Renatus Cartesius hath not only outdone them all herein, but even the very Atheists themselves also, as shall be showed, afterward; and therefore as much as in him lies, has quite disarmed the world of that grand argument for a Deity, taken from the regular frame and harmony of the universe[3]."

It would, however, be unjust to Cudworth, not to admit that his treatment is generally of a higher order. His observations, for instance, on Descartes' celebrated argument for the veracity of our senses, as a necessary conclusion from the à priori belief in the divine goodness and perfection, convey a sound criticism, which subsequent writers have often repeated, but sometimes forgotten to acknowledge[4]. With respect, again, to the somewhat obscure argument, in which, as Leibnitz has shown, Descartes was anticipated by Anselm, for the *existence* of a God as

[1] Cudworth's *Intellect. System*, by Harrison, Vol. I. 221.

[2] *Ib.* I. 248. [3] *Ib.* I. 275.

[4] Vol. III. p. 37. See Mosheim's elaborate note and also Hallam's and Mill's observations.

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necessarily involved in the *idea* of his eternal and unchanging nature,—an argument which More considered eminently satisfactory, but which has since been almost universally abandoned,—Cudworth comes to a like unfavourable conclusion. He professes, it is true, to simply give the arguments on both sides, and to leave the decision to the reader, but his summing up reminds us rather of the advocate than of the judge. "However, it is not very probable that many Atheists will be convinced thereby, but that they will rather be ready to say that this is no probation at all of a Deity, but only an affirmation of the thing in dispute and a mere begging of the question; that therefore God is, because He is, or cannot but be[1]."

The philosophy of Descartes in relation to natural theology encounters still heavier condemnation from our author. In his review of the different theories of the Greek philosophers respecting causation, he recapitulates the celebrated criticism which Socrates, in the *Phædo*, is represented as having passed on the treatise of Anaxagoras. Anaxagoras was the first of the early philosophers to recognise the necessity of an over-ruling Intelligence, which he called *νοῦς*. Socrates expresses his disappointment at finding so admirable a conception so unsatisfactorily developed by its author, and censures Anaxagoras for not distinguishing between efficient and mechanical causes. "We have told this long story," continues Cudworth, "because it is so exact a parallel with the philosophic humour of some in this present age, who, pretending to assert a God, do, notwithstanding, discard all mental and final causality from having anything to do with the fabric of the world; and resolve all into material necessity and mechanism, into vortices, globuli and striate particles, and the like. Of which Christian philosophers we must

[1] Vol. II. p. 34.

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needs pronounce, that they are not near so good Theists as Anaxagoras himself was, though so much condemned by Plato and Aristotle; forasmuch as he did not only assert God to be the cause of motion, but also the governor, regulator, and methodizer of the same, for the production of this harmonious system of the world, and therefore τοῦ εὖ καὶ καλῶς αἰτίαν, "the cause of well and fit." Whereas these utterly reject the latter, and only admitting the former, will needs suppose heaven and earth, plants and animals, and all things whatsover in this orderly compages of the world, to have resulted merely from a certain quantity of motion, or agitation, at first impressed upon the matter, and determined to vortex."

It is evident from the passages we have adduced that the differences between Descartes and the Platonists involved some decidedly fundamental questions, and it is not very easy to see how More could have greeted so cordially a philosophy in which Cudworth saw so little to admire. Mosheim, who had certainly studied the questions at issue between the two schools more than most men of his time, attributes Cudworth's dislike to Descartes to the fact that Descartes, like Bacon, was mistakenly supposed to aim at banishing entirely from his philosophy the enquiry into final causes. "I believe," he says, in one of his notes, "that Descartes is throughout treated with undue severity by our author."

In More and Cudworth the Platonic school found its chief exponents in our University, though the spirit is clearly to be discerned in the writings of Taylor, Smith, Rust, the remains of Whichcot, and others of this period. We have yet, however, to make some slight mention of another of its adherents,—Thomas Gale[1], master of St

Dr Thomas Gale.

[1] Not, of course, to be mistaken for *Theophilus* Gale, the author of the celebrated *Court of the Gentiles*;—a caution which similarity of name and

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Paul's School, and for a short time Regius Professor of Greek. In the year 1678, Gale gave to the world an edition of the *De Mysteriis*, of Iamblichus, with notes and a Latin Version. As he tells us in the preface that he had only recently received the Greek text from Vossius, "quod nunc primum edo," it would appear that this was the first English edition. The motive assigned by him in the preface for the publication of the treatise is worthy of notice as a further illustration of the stand-point from which this school regarded the sceptical philosophy of the day. In the introduction he attacks with considerable severity the atheistical notions which had lately sprung up,—alluding apparently chiefly to the followers of Hobbes; whether any of his censures are intended for the Cartesians does not so plainly appear, but the dedication of the work to Sir Joseph Williamson, the president of the Royal Society, would seem to show that he belonged rather to the school of Glanvil than that of Duport. After a few stringent remarks, Gale takes upon himself to prophesy that the new heresy will be short-lived. "Quemadmodum autem Physici veteres, partim tacito humani generis consensu, partim sectarum potentiorum disputationibus, obruti evanuerunt ex hominum memoria; ita facile quispiam augurari possit modernorum Philosophorum (qui cum istis parum honeste de Deo sentiunt) brevem et ipsis vix superstitem fore famam; nam et lux veritatis incipit nubes oppositas evincere, suis viribus; et docti homines contra grassantem impietatem, sua sacra, multas apud gentes, feliciter commoverunt. Ego autem, *ut lanci præponderanti nonnihil momenti adjicerem*, hunc Iamblichi libellum

His edition of Iamblichus.

His censure of the sceptical philosophy.

literary reputation renders perhaps not totally unnecessary. *Theophilus* Gale was of Magdalen College, Oxford, and one of the ejected ministers at the Restoration.

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emisi, in quo homo minime Christianus, imo hostis fidei nostræ (ne quis studium partium invidiose criminari possit) ita de Deo, Angelis, et Anima scribit, ut nonnullis, qui se Christianos dici volunt, de rebus divinis sanius et castius sentiendi merito magistei esse debeat."

The Platonists as moralists.

It remains to notice, very briefly, the characteristics of this school from yet one more point of view, before we hasten to a conclusion. Among the distinguished moralists who have at different periods graced our University, the Platonists can claim no inconsiderable place, and nowhere perhaps do their virtues come out in brighter contrast than when sustaining against the philosophy of Hobbes the teachings of a nobler inspiration. To the leading features of that philosophy we have already alluded, and we have now to point out those of its ethical tenets which more especially ran counter to those of the school of Cudworth and Henry More.

Contrasted with Hobbes.

It was a strictly logical conclusion from Hobbes's fundamental theory, that, right and wrong, as essential qualities of actions, had no existence; such notions, he held, being entirely derived from legislation. Laws he regarded as nothing more than a collection of serviceable regulations which men, in a social condition, agreed to observe as an indispensable element of personal security. As he did not scruple to enunciate his views in their most paradoxical form, it is not surprising that the theologians and moralists of the time were both shocked and alarmed. It appeared to them, and it would seem not without reason, that nothing could be more prejudicial to public morality—that morality which was already at so low an ebb—than that it should be thus unblushingly maintained that virtue and vice were merely matters of latitude and longitude, and that the feelings with which

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we regard the patriot and the parricide were alike dictated by simple self-interest.

Cudworth's "Eternal and Immutable Mora'ty."

It was to combat such sentiments that Cudworth composed his treatise on *Eternal and Immutable Morality*. "He here," says Professor Maurice, "answers with much skill, even with a kind of fineness which is not usual to him, the argument that the defendant of a primary and original morality assumes something which is higher than the Will of God, and which controls it. He enunciates the proposition that the Will of God is essentially righteous, that power is only its attribute, its accident. This doctrine is Cudworth's true title to canonization among English moralists. By putting it forth, ever so imperfectly, he did more to protest against the low moral *practice* of his time, as well as against the theories that were sustaining this practice, than the most popular preachers."

Dr Whewell's criticism.

"Familiar," says Dr Whewell, "with the writings of the ancient moralists, he at once perceived that all the bold and paradoxical dogmas of Hobbes, strange and monstrous as they sound in modern ears, were but the repetition of the sophistries of former times. His treatise begins by shewing that there have been some in all ages who have maintained that good and evil, just and unjust, were not naturally and immutably so, but only by human laws and appointments. This assertion, which had been made by Protagoras and many others, was connected by them with the doctrine that we derive our knowledge from our senses, which cannot give us information of anything certain and permanent; and that in the everflowing stream of the universe nothing can be immutable and eternal. Plato himself had made it one of his most serious tasks to reason against this school. Two tenets, of the Protagorean philosophy, that the universe is constituted of atoms, and that all our knowledge is only relative

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and fantastic, were both rejected by Plato as alike leading to scepticism. Cudworth, taught by the recent progress and prospects of physical philosophy, takes care not to make the cause of the eternal fixity of truth depend upon the rejection of the mechanical theory of the universe. On the contrary, he turns the battery of the Atomic Theory upon his adversaries, and maintains that the genuine result of that theory is that Sense alone is not the judge of what does really and absolutely exist, but that there is another principle in us superior to sense. He further asserts that knowledge is an inward active energy of the mind, not arising from things acting without; that some ideas of the mind proceed not from sensible objects, but arise from the inward activity of the mind itself; that the intelligible notions of things, though existing only in the mind, are not figments of the mind, but have an immutable nature; and hence he concludes, in an assertion of Origen, that science and knowledge is the only fine thing in the world."

The *application* of this view of the nature of knowledge to *moral truth* is not so satisfactorily made out. Both Hallam and Dr Whewell have noticed a weakness in the connecting link, wherewith it was sought to bring under the same category the *discernment of truth* and the *perception of moral obligations*. "Cudworth," says Dr Whewell, "held in moral speculations the place which Kepler held in the speculations respecting the forces which govern the planetary world. He asserted that there must be some fixed, orderly, constant force, by which all things and their relations are retained in a perpetual and immutable harmony, but he did not succeed in placing before men's eyes the very form and expression of this force; and hence he was hardly listened to, and deemed by most a dreamy and fanciful visionary."

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Unfortunately, moreover, the theory of Cudworth has failed to receive an equal amount of verification from the researches of subsequent investigators.

Hobbes's Utilitarianism

There was another feature in the philosophy of Hobbes which contrasted yet more strongly with the creed of the Platonists. Utilitarianism, in its coarsest form, was the groundwork of his system. Pleasure, self-interest, personal well-being, were the basis of all human actions. Regard for the happiness of others could only arise from a conviction that one's own happiness is involved therein; patriotism was only a mode of asserting one's belief that the welfare of the individual is bound up in the prosperity of the State; virtue is solely recommended by its productiveness of pleasure. Of a future existence, and of this life as one of probation and preparation for another, the founder of Utilitarianism had no conception.

It will at once be seen how such an estimate of human purposes and destinies must have revolted all those who sought both in faith and practice a nobler mark at which to aim. The duty of self-discipline, the deep significance of the inner life, the attainment of moral purity, truths which even the pagan philosopher had discerned through the mists of superstition and tradition, and which the Anglican and the Platonist of the seventeenth century regarded as inalienable from all adequate conceptions of man's life, were, to Hobbes and his disciples, only as the fancies of a vague and baseless mysticism. "It will not follow from hence," says Cudworth in his preface to the *Intellectual System*, "that whosoever shall read these demonstrations of ours, and understand all the words of them, must therefore be of necessity presently convinced whether he will or no, and put out of all manner of doubt or hesitancy concerning the existence of a God. For we believe that to be true which some have affirmed, that were there any

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interest of life, any concernment of appetite and passion, against the truth of geometrical theorems themselves, as of a triangle having three angles equal to two right, whereby men's judgments might be clouded and bribed, notwithstanding all the demonstrations of them, many would remain at least sceptical about them. Wherefore mere speculation and dry mathematical reason, in minds unpurified and having a contrary interest of carnality, and a heavy load of infidelity and distrust sinking them down, cannot alone beget an unshaken confidence and assurance of so high a truth as this, the existence of one perfect understanding Being, the original of all things. As it is certain also, on the contrary, that minds cleansed and purged from vice may, without syllogistical reasonings and mathematical demonstrations, have an undoubted assurance of the existence of a God, according to that of the philosopher: Ἡ *κάθαρσις ποιεῖ ἐν γνώσει τῶν ἀρίστων εἶναι*, 'Purity possesses men with an assurance of the best things;' whether this assurance be called a vaticination or divine sagacity, (as it is by Plato and Aristotle) or faith, as in the Scripture."

To Hobbes, this language must have appeared unintelligible. The gulf between him and the Platonists was, in fact, so vast, that the arguments of each seem, like spent arrows, to fail to traverse it. We are reminded of an encounter between two logicians, where each refuses to accept the definitions and nomenclature of the other. We have, in the present day, seen the Utilitarian philosophy expounded and defended by a writer of powers not inferior to those of Hobbes, but of a spirit far more temperate and comprehensive. As interpreted by Mr Mill, Utilitarianism no longer appears associated with Atheism and degrading views of human nature, but as the philosophical expression of the most benign and catholic tenets of Christianity, a

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radiant minister of light. We cannot but think, however, that somewhat severe measure has been dealt out to our forefathers, because, when the celestial visitant saw fit to appear to them in a totally different guise, they failed to recognise his divine mission. Mr Buckle has animadverted on their "prejudices" with extreme severity. "This profound thinker," he says, speaking of Hobbes, "published several speculations very unfavourable to the Church, and directly opposed to principles which are essential to ecclesiastical authority. As a natural consequence he was hated by the clergy; his doctrines were declared to be highly pernicious; and he was accused of wishing to subvert the national religion, and corrupt the national morals[1]."

Mr Buckle's censure of the Clergy of the day.

Now it is quite certain that if Hobbes did not desire to "subvert the national Church," it could only be because he did not think his own principles worth carrying into practice; as for "corrupting the national morals,"—let us turn for a moment to estimate the real facts as our forefathers saw them. We have already noticed how the tenets he held directly challenged those axioms on which morality and religion were at that time supposed to rest. With him might was right, conscience was but fear, right and wrong were merely conventional forms of speech; man himself the creature of necessity, devoid of liberty and choice. It is difficult, then, to understand how the ministers of a Christian Church, to whom the teachings of the New Testament had aught of significance and reality, as the embodiment of principles which it was the duty of the Christian moralist to interpret into the language of daily life, could well avoid the conclusion that such opinions if widely disseminated could hardly fail to

Point of view from which their position should be regarded.

[1] *Hist. of Civilization in England*, Vol. I. p. 390.

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lower, as they certainly afterwards did, the moral tone of the whole people. Nor is it just to represent as the antipathy of a class, feelings which were undoubtedly shared by the majority of the most thoughtful and moderate men of that time. It was only natural that the clergy should occupy a prominent part in a controversy wherein those principles were so rudely assailed which they were specially called upon to defend; but it must be remembered that the doctrines of Hobbes had also to encounter the stately rebuke of Clarendon, and, later in the century, the severest condemnation of a writer, who certainly had little sympathy with the clergy,—the author of the *Characteristics*[1].

It would seem, indeed, not improbable that, though he is generally believed to have been a man of blameless private life, his political tergiversation may have thrown suspicion on the purity of his motives. He had followed Charles the Second into exile, and attached himself to the English court at Paris; from thence he had written in defence of Cromwell's government, and had subsequently returned to England. At the Restoration, he turned with equal facility to enjoy the substantial favour and patronage of his sovereign, who seems to have ignored the former defection of his old preceptor[2]. When we add to this, that it was also Hobbes's fortune to gain the plaudits and admiration of a Court more openly immoral than any which our country had before seen, where no ecclesiastic

[1] Shaftesbury, in his *Letter to a Student in the University*, says that it was Locke who struck the home-blow, for "Hobbes's character and base slavish principles of government, took off the poison of his philosophy."

[2] There was nothing, however, that Charles, without principles himself, could so easily condone as a want of principle in another. Clarendon tried hard to prevail upon the indolent monarch to read the "Leviathan" *through*, feeling certain that he would then think more seriously of the matter, but without success.

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could appear without immediately becoming a butt for sarcasm and ridicule, we think we have sufficient reason for understanding that his life and teaching must have alike incurred the condemnation of really candid and tolerant men, who may have been unable to refrain from recognising the natural connexion between precept and practice, in the principles of the philosopher and the morals of his followers.

We must now take our leave of the Cambridge Platonists. From whatever stand-point we may seek to estimate their merits and demerits, our verdict will scarcely be one of unqualified approval, but it will, we think, at the same time be conceded, that their faults were to no small extent redeemed by disinterested aims and noble virtues; that, at a time when infidelity on the one hand, and fanaticism on the other, seemed threatening to absorb the earnest thought and mental vigour of the country, the leaders of this school strove, not unsuccessfully, to hold the middle course; that, if in their hands the trembling balance failed accurately to compare the claims of reason and the claims of faith, they were yet watchful guardians of the sacred fire on the altars where it already grew faint and dim; and the dispassionate critic, while he views with regret so much genius and learning devoted to labours which posterity has so imperfectly rewarded, will probably allow that those defects of thought, which we trace in the writings of this school, were in a great part the accidents of an age wherein their virtues were all their own.

We shall venture, in concluding this chapter, and with it, our remarks on that portion of the century preceding the Civil War, to quote the admirable criticism of Coleridge, on a period which he so thoroughly knew and so intimately understood:—

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Coleridge's estimate of the period.

"Then, as now,"—(written in 1808) "existed objects to which the wisest attached undue importance; then, as now, judgment was misled by factions and parties—time wasted in controversies fruitless, except as far as they quickened the faculties; then, as now, minds were overrated or idolized, which owed their influence to the weakness of their contemporaries rather than to their own power. Then, though great actions were wrought, and great works in literature and science produced, yet the general taste was capricious, fantastical, or grovelling: and in this point, as in all others, was youth subject to delusion, frequent in proportion to the liveliness of the sensibility, and strong as the strength of the imagination[1]."

[1] *The Friend*, Introduct. to Part III.

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CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR TO THE RESTORATION.

WITH the year 1639, we find Sir Simonds D'Ewes bringing his journal to a close, "humbly meditating of death as near at hand," and "heartily beseeching God, infinite in goodness and in greatness, that he would for ever continue to the British Church the pure undefiled religion, free from superstitions, heresies and idolatry." It was indeed a time fraught with no ordinary peril alike to individuals and to the country at large. The following year saw the Long Parliament assemble, the next the attainder and execution of Strafford; then followed the horrors of the Irish Rebellion, striking dismay and anguish home to the heart of England. Worthington, in his diary, records the singularly solemn prayer offered in the chapel of Emmanuel, when the tidings reached the University:—"Respiciat Deus clementi oculo fere expirantem Hiberniam; quomodo qui comedebant in deliciis desolantur per agros! Quomodo qui nutriebantur in coccino, complexantur stercora! Ecce, ut in convalla sparsa et neglecta jacent illorum ossa, ossa perquam arida; an reviviscant illa, Domine Jehovah, tu nosti!" &c.

Outbreak of the civil war.

The following year saw the outbreak of the Civil War and the royal standard erected at Nottingham. Both the Universities espoused the royal cause and rendered

Royalist sympathies of Cambridge.

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material aid. Cambridge, while Charles remained at Nottingham, sent frequent supplies of plate and money. The first supply, we read, was sent "guarded by some horse, under the conduct of Mr Barnaby Oley of Clare Hall, who, passing through bye-paths in the night, escaped Oliver Cromwell, who, with a train of townsmen and rustics, lay in wait to have intercepted it near Loler Hedges, betwixt Huntingdon and Cambridge." In 1643 we find "From Cambridge they write that the schollers there begin to leave the University, or rather they are sent away from thence, because they show themselves exceedingly disaffected to the parliament's proceedings in those parts."

Cromwell.

The strong sympathy which the University thus evinced for the royal cause, naturally drew down reprisals from the opposite party. Cromwell, who was member of parliament for the town, was sent from London at the head of a small force to take more rigorous measures. We are indebted to Walker, in his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, for an account of the subsequent proceedings, which must, however, considering the source from whence it proceeds, be accepted with some qualification. On the other hand, it is reasonable to suppose that Cromwell's action would hardly wear any other than a very decisive character. During the hour of service in the chapels he surrounded several of the colleges and made prisoners of the masters. Dr Beal, the master of St John's, Dr Martin, the master of Queens', and Dr Sterne, the master of Jesus, were of the number; "whom," says Walker, "he hurried prisoners to London, with such circumstances of outrage and abuse as I shall at large relate." Eventually Cambridge was selected as the quarters of the central garrison of the seven associated counties, and from this time, says Walker, her miseries were without intermission; "for, in the first place, by this means, as the Querela expresses it, instead

His measures in the University.

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of carrying us all to London jayls, thanks be to our multitude, not their mercy, they found a device to convey a prison to us, and under colour of fortifications confined us only in a larger inclosure, not suffering any scholars to pass out of the town, unless some townsman of their tribe would promise for him that he was a confider. And from that time forward, for near two years together, the prophanations, violence, outrages, and wrongs done to their chapels, colleges, and persons, by the uncontrouled fury of rude soldiers, notwithstanding the fore-mentioned protections, were matter of unspeakable grief to any that considered it[1]." "After this," saith the Querela[2], "it will not be strange to hear how our persons have been abused, how divers of us have been imprisoned without so much as pretending any cause, but snatched up in the streets and thrown into prison at the pleasure of a small sneaking captain, where we have lain three or four months together, not so much as accused, much less heard, but quite and clean forgotten, as if there had been no such thing in nature. How some of us, and many others with us, have been thrust out of bed in the night that our chambers might forthwith be converted into prison lodgings: how our young scholars with terror have been commanded to accuse and cut out the names of their own tutors, and some of them thrown into prison for not being old enough to take their covenant. But (to pass higher) how often have our colleges been broken open and guards thrust into them, sometimes at midnight while we were asleep in our beds: how often our libraries and treasuries ransacked and rifled, not sparing so much as our ancient coins, particularly at St John's College, whence they took in ancient coins to the value of twenty-two pounds accord-

Conduct of the Parliament soldiery.

[1] Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part I. p. 110.

[2] *Querela Cantabrigiensis.*

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ing to weight, which those that know anything know to be a great light to the understanding of history; how often hath that small pittance of commons, which our founders and benefactors allotted for our sustenance, been taken from off our tables by the wanton soldier; how often have our rents been extorted from our tenants, or if received remanded of our bursars and stewards, and by force taken from them, they having for above two years together set themselves upon little else than to seize and take away our goods and furniture belonging to our chambers, *prising and selling away our books at a tenth part of their value.* And to this end they have constituted a decayed hatter plunder-master-general, who (together with a conventicling barber and a confiding tailor) hath full commission, for our property sake, to lord of us and dispose of our goods as they please."

St John's College appears to have been especially unfortunate:—

"They plundered and drove the true owners out of St John's College for above sixteen months together, and converted all the old court of it, which had formerly contained three hundred students at a time, into a prison for his majesty's loyal subjects, not suffering any to remove either their bedding or other goods whereof the jailer could make any use or benefit, and rented out the whole of it at above £500 per annum; and at length laid their paws on most of the other colleges, quartering multitudes of soldiers in those glorious and ancient structures which the devout and royal founders designed for sanctuaries of learning and piety, but were made by them mere spittals and bawdy-houses for sick and debauched soldiers, being filled with queans, drabbs, fiddlers, and revels, night and day."

"Thus, as the University justly complained, was she

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loaded with an Iliad of miseries; the Knipperdollings of the age reduced a glorious and renowned University almost to a mere munster; and did more in less than three years than the apostate Julian could effect in all his reign, viz. broke the heart-strings of learning and all learned men, and thereby luxated all the joints of Christianity in the kingdom, insomuch that they feared not to appeal to any impartial judge, whether, if the Goths and Vandals, or even the Turks themselves, had overrun this nation, they would have more inhumanly abused a flourishing University than these pretended advancers of religion had done; having, as the complaint is continued, thrust out one of the eyes of this kingdom; made eloquence dumb; philosophy sottish; widowed the arts; drove the muses from their habitation; plucked the reverend and orthodox professors out of the chairs, and silenced them in prison or their graves: turned religion into rebellion; changed the apostolical chair into a desk for blasphemy; tore the garland from off the head of learning, to place it on the dull brows of disloyal ignorance; made those ancient and beautiful chapels, the sweet remembrancers and monuments of our forefathers' charity, and kind fomenters of their children's devotion, to become ruinous heaps of dust and stones; and unhived those numerous swarms of labouring bees which used to drop honey-dews over all this kingdom, to place in their room swarms of senseless drones."

Fuller sums up much to the same effect:—

"Soldiers quartered in their Colleges; chapels abused; common prayer-books, yet legally in force, torn in St Mary's; their bridges broken down; materials for building Colleges taken away; Jesus College grove (no idolatrous one) cut down to the ground[1]."

[1] *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 184.

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Establishment of rival schools.

The hostility of the Puritan party to the Universities appears to have even suggested schemes for the establishment of rival schools in other parts of the kingdom. In 1649, Walker tells us, "one Sir Balthazar Gerbier, what or who he was I cannot tell, set up a new academy in Whitefriars for the teaching of all manner of arts and sciences[1]." In 1650 a proposal was likewise mooted for converting the college of the dean and chapter at Durham into an academy for the northern counties, with the intent to thus divert students in those parts of the kingdom from Oxford and Cambridge. What became of these schemes does not appear; in the meantime the Puritan rule at Cambridge was becoming firmly established. So early as 1647, we are informed, the University was "exactly what the Puritans wished it to be; for the success of the Parliament had enabled the Puritan party to effect great changes both in the Church and the Universities.

Change in the studies of the University.

The masters and professors, who, however learned and qualified for the offices which they held, did not reach the Puritan standard in point of religion, had been removed from their places, and other persons had succeeded them who were distinguished as much by piety and religious zeal as by learning and skill in government[2]." "The young candidate for academical honours," says Lord Macaulay, "was no longer required to write Ovidian epistles or Virgilian pastorals, but was strictly interrogated by a synod of lowering supra-lapsarians as to the day and hour when he experienced the new births[3]."

The former studies of the University would appear,

[1] Heywood and Wright's *University Transactions during the Puritan Period*, Pt. II. p. 507.

[2] Hunter's *Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 21.

[3] Macaulay's *Hist. of England*, Vol. I. p. 397.

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indeed, to have been almost entirely suspended. "My time and thoughts," writes Heywood, then an undergraduate at Trinity, "were more employed in practical divinity; and experimental truths were more vital and vivifical to my soul. I preferred Perkins, Bolton, Preston, Sibbes, far above Aristotle, Plato, Magirus, and Wendeton, though I despise no laborious authors in these subservient studies." Heywood's language will excite little surprise when we learn the character of those under whom he studied. Hill, the master of Trinity, had been recently appointed by government; "he was," writes Hunter, "a strenuous advocate of Calvinian views of the Christian doctrine, a diligent preacher in the chapel of his college, and expounded the Scriptures there almost daily." Of Akehurst, his tutor, Heywood gives the following account:—"I must confess he was careful of me; inquired of me what company I was acquainted with, sometimes read lectures to us, prayed with us in his chamber every night, and had sometimes about thirty pupils, and, as I thought, was a gracious savoury Christian; though I have often taken notice of his inconstancy, and being singular in differing from grave sober divines, and pride, which was too visible in his apparel, gesture, and other outward tokens thereof."

Heywood's account.

Tutorial influences.

Amid so much anarchy and misrule it is pleasant to note one eminent exception to the general discomfiture. While the Puritan soldiery were levelling the classic groves and hacking with pious zeal at the figure-heads on the carved wood-work in the chapels, we discern moving about in its wonted track the diminutive figure of the Greek Professor, Dr James Duport. As the son of the master of Jesus, educated at Westminster (where Busby was among his schoolfellows), a scholar of Trinity, where he was elected fellow in the same year that he

Dr James Duport.

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proceeded to his bachelor's degree, for thirty years the most successful private tutor of his day—we may fairly be disposed to accept Duport as a representative man of the Cambridge of his age. Possessing something more of exact scholarship than most of his contemporaries, and surpassed by none of them in enthusiasm, he also claims our admiration by the gallant fight which he made for the old learning amid the disheartening scenes already described.

In 1644 the Earl of Manchester received instructions from Parliament to summon the Heads and fellows of the different colleges to take the covenant. Upwards of two hundred resident fellows refused compliance and were subsequently ejected; among them were Isaac Barrow, the poets Cowley, Crashaw, and Cleveland, Barnabas Oley, Rainbow, afterwards bishop of Carlisle, and Sterne, afterwards archbishop of York. It so happened that Duport had shortly before accepted church preferment, and his name consequently no longer appeared in the list of the fellows of Trinity. Owing to this circumstance, and, possibly, to the real difficulty of finding a Presbyterian Greek Professor, Duport remained unmolested during the hottest part of the Civil War. Accordingly, while Cromwell and Prince Rupert were marshalling their forces at Naseby and Marston Moor, and the whole country was distracted by the great struggle—while his friends were scattered far and wide, some in prison, some in exile—Duport at Trinity was placidly lecturing, to no inconsiderable audience, on the Characters of Theophrastus. The history of these lectures is somewhat singular. They were, it appears, the only ones which he delivered that were afterwards printed and published. Duport, during his lifetime, had lent the manuscript to Thomas Stanley, the editor of Æschylus. On Stanley's death the manuscript

His Lectures on Theophrastus.

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came, with others, into the possession of Dr John Moore, the bishop of Ely. In 1712, Peter Needham, being about to publish an edition of Theophrastus, received as a loan from Dr Moore the manuscript of Duport, under the supposition that the notes were those of Stanley. With this belief Needham showed them to Bentley, from whom he received advice and assistance in his work, and who at once detected the true authorship—mainly, it is said, from the allusions scattered up and down to the political disturbances of the time, and also from the constant witticisms and inveterate punning in which it was Duport's wont to indulge.

His conservative tendencies.

A conservative both by nature and education, Duport regarded with equal aversion the political and scientific agitations of his day. Aristotle was to him second in authority to Inspiration alone, and the Baconian and Cartesian philosophies were dangerous heresies which could hardly be too strongly denounced. His sentiments were those of not a few of his academic contemporaries. There was still a numerous class who sought to find in the teachings of antiquity satisfaction for every intellectual craving and a resolution of every philosophic doubt. To extend their enquiries into those regions which modern thought had attempted to penetrate, seemed to them a task fraught with much danger and likely to be attended with small profit. Like the mariners of old, they had their Gades, beyond which, if report were true, lay nothing but treacherous seas and inhospitable coasts; and, like those prophets of ill who saw Columbus set forth from the Spanish court to explore the unknown waters of the Atlantic, they chanted dreary vaticinations while the new philosophies of their time were battling as untried barks amid the winds and waves, their pilots deeming, in the noble words of Bacon, that "were the gale which wafted

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them from the mainland even less trustworthy, it were unmanly not to essay the trial."

Of the above class of thinkers Duport was no unfit representative. The enthusiasm which he brought to his classical researches was not inferior to that of the Platonists, but of a very different kind. He belonged not merely to a different school of philosophy, but his admiration was reserved rather for the language than the thought of the classic writers. With most scholars, to study those writers has been the business of their lives, to imitate them, their recreation; with Duport, the imitation seems to have been the business and recreation too. His fondness for Latin and Greek versification amounted to a passion, a passion which even old age could not diminish. His verse, it is true, was such as the critical taste of his day admitted, but of a kind which Milton probably read with but qualified approbation, and such as the editors of the *Arundines Cami* or the *Sabrinæ Corolla* might have found themselves under the necessity of politely declining. His chief models were Homer and Martial, and all the metrical licences for which authority could be quoted—from Homer to Anacreon, from Lucretius to Lucan—were liberally reproduced. It is said that scarcely any difference is discernible between his most juvenile and mature productions. The assiduity with which he plied his art, commendable enough in a boy of fifteen, assumes a somewhat different character in the man of fifty. Events which the divine and the moralist sought to improve in sacred discourse, which the politician anxiously noted and the historian thought deserving of record, were valued by Duport chiefly as another opportunity for bringing under the public eye a new copy of Greek hexameters or of Latin hendecasyllabics. The readiness with which he availed himself of such oppor-

His fondness for verse composition.

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tunities sometimes exceeded the good taste displayed. On the peace with Holland he was among the contributors to the *Oliva Pacis*, a collection of congratulatory verses to his "Highness, the Protector Oliver," and many of his friends thought that silence would have better become the muse of so ardent an episcopalian and royalist. On the most solemn of all occasions no professional mourner could have appeared on the scene with greater alacrity. On the death of Dr Thomas Harrison, the vice-master of Trinity, it was certainly only natural that so eminent a versifier should contribute to the customary formal lamentations on the removal of so distinguished a member of his own college. Had Duport chosen to deplore the general loss and to commend the virtues of the deceased in a few decorous iambics or elegiacs, he would simply have performed the part he was expected to bear. He elected, however, to imitate Homer; and Dr Brooke, the master of the college, is personified as chief mourner, haranguing, in rolling Greek hexameters, the board of senior fellows on the loss they had sustained. One cannot help thinking that whatever feeling of genuine regret the Vice-master's death might have occasioned, it must have momentarily disappeared before so singular a mode of treatment.

His occasional pieces.

The professor's powers of versification were, however, capable of longer flights than mere threnodia or epinicia. He translated the whole book of Job into Homeric verse, and the translation continued for a long time to be used as a class-book both in the University and elsewhere. In 1646 he published, at the University Press, a like translation of the Book of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon, accompanied by a Latin version. His principal work was his *Homeri Gnomologia*, published in 1660. It consists, says bishop Monk, of a "collection of

His "Homeri Gnomologia."

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all the sentences in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* containing any aphorism, sentiment, or remarkable opinion, illustrated by a twofold series of quotations, first from the Scriptures, and next from the whole range of classical authors wherever any parallel idea or expression can be found. The learning displayed is considerable; while the judgment and self-command of the author is far greater than appears in any of his other books."

Retires from the Greek Professorship in favour of Barrow.

In 1660 Duport was invited to resume his post as Professor of Greek, which he had eventually been compelled by the Puritan party to resign in 1654. He declined the honour, recommending in his stead his favourite pupil, Isaac Barrow. The oration with which Barrow inaugurated his acceptance of the new dignity is still preserved in his *Opuscula*, and is interesting from the illustration it affords of the state of classical education at that day. The orator passes in brief review his predecessors in the office. Erasmus, Sir Thomas Smith (whom he styles "*Faber*, fatale nomen litteris demerendis"), Sir John Cheke, Downes, and Creighton, each receive their meed of approbation, and a glowing eulogium is passed upon his friend and tutor. Availing himself of the licence afforded by a learned language, Barrow even ventures upon a passing pleasantry upon his predecessor's personal appearance; Duport, being of diminutive stature, might fail, he observes, to give to a mere observer of externals anything like an adequate impression of his powers[1].

Barrow's Inaugural Oration.

In 1668 Duport was elected to the mastership of Magdalene College, which he continued to hold until his death in 1679. His classical predilections absorbed, it would seem, the greater part of both his time and mental energies, for his acquaintance with English literature was slight, and he rarely attempts an estimate of his contem-

[1] "Et oculorum licet judicio renuenti."—*Opuscula*, p. 102.

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poraries[1]. Among the dramatists of the Elizabethan period, his favourite was Ben Jonson, and he considered Cowley, (then in the zenith of his fame,) the greatest of English poets. It has been supposed that, as Milton was two years his junior, a similarity of tastes and a like reputation probably made them acquainted with each other during the poet's residence at Cambridge. The supposition gains colouring from the fact that, bitter as were Duport's invectives against regicides and their defenders, he omits entirely to name the author of the *Defensio Populi*. Admiration of Milton's genius and old associations may not improbably have combined to make him silent respecting one, whom, from detestation of his political career, he could hardly have mentioned in terms of commendation[2].

Duport and Milton probably acquainted.

Heywood and Duport excepted, we have little information respecting Cambridge studies during the Commonwealth[3], nor can we view with much curiosity the details of such an abnormal state of affairs. The great political revolution was, however, pregnant with results of a far different character to those which became immediately manifest,—results which, though obscured under a temporary cloud, were destined to emerge with splendour towards the close of the century. The Declaration of Breda, on the restoration of monarchy, proved how great had been the progress towards religious free-

Declaration of Breda.

[1] His epigram on the *Religio Medici* would seem to show that he had read and admired the book; but the attention excited by that original and profound treatise was unusually general.

[2] For most of the facts in the foregoing sketch I am indebted to the interesting memoir in the second volume of the *Museum Criticum*, from the pen of bishop Monk.

[3] At Trinity College the register of the admissions of scholars was unkept, and from 1643 to 1661 no entries are to be found. See Wilkin's *Life of Sir T. Browne*, p. 75.

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dom which had been accomplished since the outbreak of the Civil War. In a second declaration given at Whitehall on the 25th of October, 1660, Charles declared his intention of adhering to all his previous promises for "the liberty of tender consciences[1]." An extract from this document, given in Heywood and Wright's *University Transactions of the Puritan Period*[2], will afford sufficient information with respect to the regulations now introduced in reference to those matters of religious ceremonial which, as we have seen, had been the cause of such bitter dispute between the contending parties. We all know, how, within two years from the date of the above document, the fair promise of the new reign was overclouded. In the meantime the course of study within the University had returned to its former channels. Aristotle was again studied and expounded; the Fathers resumed their old supremacy; and the schools resounded once more with the disputations of the dialecticians. Only a few of the foremost minds had as yet caught the afflatus of that new spirit which had risen on the waters of human thought.

[1] Declaration of Charles II. [2] p. 541.

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CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE CLOSE OF THE CENTURY.

To that portion of the century which we are now approaching we shall only devote such an amount of consideration as may suffice to illustrate the chief points of that contrast which it exhibits when compared with those periods which have already passed under our notice. The necessity indeed for any lengthened investigation is obviously diminished when we consider that the educational changes which, during this period, were first introduced into the curriculum of the University have been operating with increased effect down to the present day; their results are all around us; they are part of our intellectual being; and, however dispassionately we may wish to weigh the comparative merits of those studies which we have already described with those by which they were superseded, our judgment will probably insensibly be biassed, in a manner that hardly admits of correction, by the training we have ourselves received under the influences of that important revolution.

The great mover in those changes which we have now to notice was one of whom our University may well be proud, not simply as of one of her most illustrious sons, but also as of one whose genius was so especially identified with her own history and reputation at that day. It may be said of Isaac Barrow, that he represents not only the Uni- Isaac Barrow.

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versity but the century which he adorned. Trained under a system which he lived to see subverted,—subverted too, in no small measure, by his own efforts,—he was himself a personification alike of the learning of the old and the science of the new school. Of this a more striking instance can hardly be adduced than the introductory lecture which he delivered on entering upon the duties of the newly-founded Lucasian Professorship of Mathematics, in 1664; and the following abridgement is so suggestive as an illustration of both the precise period in which it was delivered and of the genius and views of the orator himself, that we only regret that our limits do not allow us to give the oration entire. It is here that we recognise blended in one view the philosopher, the scholar, and the divine; that we discern the scholarship and taste which shone pre-eminent in his own time, and, in the century, inferior to that of Bentley alone; the profound mathematical acquirements which only his illustrious pupil might outvie; and the pervading spirit of that theology which still preserves to us the chief relics of a genius which it could not narrow. It is here that, like the great leader of Israel, he stands pointing out to his followers the domains which they should possess, but which he himself might scarcely enter. It is here that, Janus-like, he surveys the future and the past,—this aspect serenely scanning the long wanderings behind, the other brightening with the contemplation of the hopes which lay before, while

His Lucasian oration.

> ".....more and more he smiles upon
> The happy revolution."

The opening of the oration is prosaic enough. After a brief reference to the calmer aspect of external affairs, the orator proceeds to inform his hearers, in the rhetorical diction of the time, that a gracious star, radiant with auspicious

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beams of truth, and such as has not for many years been beheld, is now visible on the academic horizon. Such is the metaphor by which he symbolizes the foundation of the new chair of mathematics[1]. Passing on to the discussion of the study itself, he professes his inability to decide whether it be more a matter for surprise or for regret that mathematics up to the present time have had no proper place within the nurturing influences of the University, but have lacked all encouragement and patronage. After an eloquent tribute to the eminent and varied services rendered by the founder to the cause of learning, the orator proceeds to justify his own retirement from the chair of Greek in order to accept his new appointment. The step would appear to have provoked some hostile criticism which he is intent on deprecating. He entered, he says, upon his former professorship when the duties were onerous and the emolument absolutely nothing, and he now relinquishes it only when the conditions of its tenure are improved, and when it seems probable that others may accept the office with greater pleasure and discharge its duties with greater ability. He, for his part, has exchanged, without detriment to the interests of others, the grinding at the mill of grammar for the palæstra of mathematics. He has, he confesses, always cherished a stronger attachment (*impensius adamavi*) for philosophy than for philology; and, though far from viewing with morose disdain the amusing employment of verbal criticism (*vocularum ludicrum aucupium*), his warmest affections have ever been given to the graver investigations of nature. His own feelings are those of no small delight to think that, after so many wanderings and dangers, he has at last steered his

[1] On naming Lucas, the founder, the orator adds, "Assurgite, quotquot estis auditores tantoque debitam nomini reverentiam exhibete."

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bark into so calm a haven, and it is his fondly-cherished hope that for the remainder of his days he may find an abiding shelter there. After a cordial invitation to the students, remarkable for its freedom from all professorial reserve, to avail themselves of his assistance whenever difficulties obstruct their progress (*consilium audacter expetite, exigite, præcipite et imperate*), and a brief reminder of how the Greek philosophers of old had ever blended the study of philosophy with that of mathematics, he thus proceeds:—"Let others, like owls in the bright sunlight, turn in terror from the sight of these pursuits, but do you rather direct your gaze upon them as they stand forth to view this day. They are robed in purple such as the mighty wear, they boast themselves in princely titles, they sit on the very thrones of kings. Not one is there, I say, of noble birth among those who strive for intellectual renown or consecrate their most ardent toil to science, by whom she is not anxiously pursued and by whose trumpet-voice she is not proclaimed. But that such as they should rival you in a single branch of ingenuous study, be it what it may, were little to your credit, that they should surpass you were absolute disgrace, especially since it is by vindicating your claim to unquestionable excellence in every branch that becomes a liberal mind, that you can alone reach the standard and sustain the renown of that University of which you are the professed disciples. Remember the reproaches of those who envy you your good fortune or desire to rival your reputation;—that you pass your lives like children, ever learning tongues, in disinterring wanton tales from the rubbish of antiquity, that you despise the toil that attends the search after truth, neglect the study of nature, undervalue the cultivation of pure reasoning, and give yourselves up to the vain adornments of language and the tricks of a meretricious diction;

His exhortations to Mathematical Studies.

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that, in fine, entangled in the triflings and useless quibblings of sophistry, you waste your time and throw away your labour in grappling with each other in barren contentions, in clinging to slippery speculations which evade your grasp, and parading dogmas resting on no certain basis. Such are the reproaches hurled upon you, wantonly and unjustly, I admit, but not unfrequently in all seriousness; and these it is in your power to wipe away or altogether to avoid, if you will but follow after divine Mathesis with the diligence which is her due."

With the close of this oration, the orator indulges in a fine rhetorical burst as he enumerates the conquests of the new science and the benefits which it has conferred on man. As a specimen of Barrow's Latinity we have given this passage in the original; it recalls to us the *Novum Organum* and some of the more modern tributes to the triumphs of the school.

His tribute to the benefits of modern science.

"Quod eleganter et commode habitamus; decoras ædes extruimus nobis, augusta numini delubra statuimus, admiranda posteris monumenta relinquimus. Quod tutis ab hostili incursione vallis protegimur; arma dextre tractamus; aciem scite disponimus; arte quadam, non ferinâ rabie belligeramur. Quod secura per infidos fluctus commercia transigimus; recto per cæcas maris vias itinere progredimur; incerto ventorum impetu propulsi designatos ad portus pervenimus. Quod rationes nostras vere subducimus, censum familiarem recte conjicimus, negotia versamus expedite; numerorum dispalatas phalanges in ordinem redigimus, tabulis includimus, calculo supponimus; arenarum quamlibet ingentes cumulos imo vel immensas atomorum congeries facile computamus. Quod agrorum fines pacifice dispicimus, momenta ponderum æqua lance perpendimus, justa suum cuique mensura dispensamus. Quod vastos hinc inde, susque deque, quo volumus, levi digito

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moles protrudimus, et immanem rerum perpusilla vi resistentiam profligamus. Quod terreni faciem orbis delineamus accurate, remque mundi publicam nostro universam conspectui subjicimus. Quod temporis fluxam seriem apte digerimus; rerum vices agendarum debitis intervallis distinguimus; tempestatum varios recursus, annorum et mensium statas periodos, alterna dierum et noctium incrementa, dubia lucis ac umbræ confinia, exquisita horarum, et minutorum discrimina rite censemus et internoscimus. Quod radiorum solarium in usus nostros subtilem efficaciam derivamus; visus sphæram in immensum exporrigimus; vicinas rerum species ampliamus, semotas adducimus, occultas detegimus; latebris suis naturam excutimus, et sua callide dissimulantem arcana revelamus. Quod concinnis simulacris oculos nostros oblectamus; artificia naturæ perite æmulamur, opera pulchre exprimimus; æmulamur dixi? imo superamus, dum nusquam existentia jucunde effingimus, absentia sistimus nobis, præterita representamus, etc[1]."

What an additional significance have two centuries given to these noble sentences! The oration is the longest of those which have reached us, and the speaker, in craving the indulgence of his hearers towards the close, reminds them, with a dash of humour, that, if he has taxed their patience, there could be no more fitting preparation than a preliminary exercise in that virtue for the cultivation of the study of mathematics.

Foundation of the Royal Society.

Two years before the delivery of the above address, the foundations had been laid of that illustrious Society which exercised so marked an influence on the character of its age. "It was," says bishop Sprat, in his *History of the Royal Society*, "some space after the end of the Civil

[1] Barrow, *Opuscula*, Vol. IV. p. 88.

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Wars, at Oxford, in Dr Wilkins his lodgings, in Wadham College, which was then the place of resort for virtuous and learned men, that the first meetings were made which laid the foundations of all this that followed."....."Their first purpose was no more then onely the satisfaction of breathing a freer air, and of conversing in quiet one with another without being ingag'd in the passions and madness of that dismal age." "And from the institution of that assembly it had been enough if no other advantage had come but this: that by this means there was a race of young men provided against the next age, whose minds receiving from them their first impressions of sober and generous knowledge, were invincibly armed against all the enchantments of enthusiasm[1]." Such was the origin of a Society which before long included in its lists the most eminent Englishmen of the age, and lent such valuable aid to the diffusion of those Baconian principles whose mellow splendour began, with the close of the century, to replace the meteor-like brilliancy of the Cartesian philosophy. After the subtleties of the logicians, the pedantry of the divines, and the obscurities of the Platonists, it is with a feeling of no little mental relief that we turn to the records of a Society employed on such humble and common-sense researches, as "*A method for making a history of the weather;*" "*The history of the generation and ordering of Colchester oysters;*" "*Experiments of the weight of bodies increased in the fire;*" "*The history of making Salt Petre;*" &c. One paper, indeed, from its title, threatens to prove a somewhat painful exception to the general character of the Society's researches; but a further inspection of Sir William Petty's *Observations on dying*, shows us that an obsolete mode of spelling has been the sole cause of our surprise.

[1] Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*, p. 53.

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Sprat's defence of the Society.

In the third part of the volume, bishop Sprat devotes a chapter to prove that "experiments are not dangerous to the Universities." "I confess," he says, "that there have not been wanting some forward assertors of new philosophy, who have not used any kind of moderation towards them; but have presently concluded that nothing can be well done in new discoveries unless all the ancient arts be first abolished and their nurseries destroyed. But the rashness of these men's proceedings has rather prejudiced than advanced what they made show to promote. They have come as furiously to the purging of philosophy as our modern zealots did to the reformation of religion. And the one party is as justly to be condemned as the other. Nothing will suffice either of them, but an utter destruction, root and branch, of whatever has the face of antiquity. But as the Universities have withstood the fierceness of the one's zeal without knowledge; so there is no doubt, but they will also prevail against the violence of the other's pretences to knowledge without prudence[1]."

The confidence of the good bishop was not misplaced. In the midst of the increasing attention which scientific research is commanding throughout the country, and which has been steadily increasing since the seventeenth century, Oxford and Cambridge may undoubtedly claim to have held their own with remarkable success against the demands of science and natural philosophy. Whether that success may not have something of the character of a Cadmæan victory, is far too important an enquiry for us now to enter upon.

But however imperfectly the objects of the Royal Society may have been attained within the academic routine of the ancient Universities, there can be little doubt

[1] *Hist. Royal Society*, Pt. III. 329.

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respecting the important changes which have come to pass under the same influences as those to which the Society owed its birth. Towards the close of the century the study of mathematics began to assume an importance which, up to within the last few years, has been steadily increasing[1]. Dr Law, in his notes to King's *Origin of Evil*, has traced the progress of the great change, as it appeared in his day. After adverting to the attention bestowed on logic, "the dull, crabbed system of Aristotle's logic," as he terms it, he says, "reflecting on these absurdities which still (1723) prevailed in our public forms of education, some of my friends were induced to seek a remedy, by freeing their pupils from all that pedantic jargon, and introduce some better means to engage their attention, and accustom them to a close regular way of thinking, and thereby prosecuting their future studies with greater accuracy and precision: to this end, they called in the assistance of the mathematics, little then imagining that in a short time these same assistants, these comparatively meagre instruments, should, like Pharaoh's kine, eat up all that was good and well-favoured in the sciences themselves; that they should usurp the place of those very sciences to which they were originally designed to be sub-

Increased attention to mathematical studies.

Law's account.

[1] "Sir Isaac Newton appears to have given lectures on his *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, before 1687. Whiston says, 'One or two I heard him read in the public schools, though I understood them not at all at that time.' About 1694 Samuel Clarke, then an undergraduate, defended in the schools a question taken from the philosophy of Newton: a step which must have had the approbation of the moderator who presided at the disputations; and his translation of Rohault, with references, in the notes, to the *Principia*, was first published in 1697. Public exercises or acts, as they were called, founded on every part of the Newtonian system, are spoken of by Saunderson's biographers as very common about 1707. By this time these studies were extensively diffused in the University, and it is mentioned that the *Principia* rose to above four times its original price." *Mus. Crit.* II. 515.

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servient, and for which station they were sufficiently qualified." "Locke's *Essay* and 'Dr Clarke,' however," he continues, "went hand in hand through our public schools and lectures, though they were built on principles directly opposite to each other." The doctrine of Clarke shortly after fell into disrepute, "through the explosion of his *à priori* argument." "This threw us back into a more eager attachment than ever to its rival, the mathematics, which grew from henceforth into a most important and most laborious study, being confined chiefly to the deepest and most difficult parts of them, and taking up the student's whole time and pains, *so as to become incompatible with any other much more necessary studies.*"

Locke's *Essay.*

Great as were the influences of the mental training thus introduced, it may be questioned whether the philosophy of Locke did not, for a considerable period, exert an almost equally powerful effect on the habits of Cambridge thought. If, at the close of the century, such a character as Joseph Mede could have revisited the old familiar scenes, his spirit would surely have been cruelly tried as it beheld the changes which half a century had brought about. The dust gathering fast on the now rarely consulted volumes of the Fathers; speculations on prophecy but seldom to be heard, and the mystical researches of the astrologer treated with open contempt; Aristotle himself rudely jostled in the schools by strange but sturdy intruders; the enthusiasm of the Platonists waning before the teachings of a prudential utilitarianism. But most of all, we think, would he have lamented, had he been permitted to peruse the *Essay on the Human Understanding*, and been informed that such were the doctrines now taught and cherished in his beloved University. What fate could he have anticipated for the reputation of the great lights of his own time—Taylor, Rust, Chappell, and Moun-

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tague—when he saw their oratory and dialectics thus decried:—"But yet, if we would speak of things as they are, we must allow that all the art of rhetoric, besides order and clearness, all the artificial and figurative application of words eloquence hath invented, are for nothing else but to insinuate wrong ideas, move the passions, and thereby mislead the judgments; and so, indeed, are perfect cheats; and, therefore, however laudable and allowable oratory may render them in harangues and popular addresses, they are certainly, in all discourses that pretend to inform or instruct, wholly to be avoided; and, where truth and knowledge are concerned, cannot but be thought a great fault either of the language or person that makes use of them.....It is evident how much men love to deceive and to be deceived, since rhetoric, that powerful instrument of error and deceit, has its established professors, is publicly taught, and has always been had in great reputation[1]."

His condemnation of the study of Rhetoric,

What sedition, again, would have appeared to lurk in the following words:—

"In an age that produces such masters as the great Huygenius and the incomparable Mr Newton, with some other of that strain, it is ambition enough to be employed as an under-labourer in clearing the ground a little, and removing some of the rubbish that lies in the way to knowledge; which certainly had been very much more advanced in the world, if the endeavours of ingenious and industrious men had not been much cumbered with the learned but frivolous use of uncouth, affected, or unintelligible terms introduced into the sciences, and there made an art of to that degree, that philosophy, which is nothing but the true knowledge of things, was thought unfit or

and of that of Logic.

[1] Book III. c. 10, sect. 34.

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incapable to be brought into well-bred company and polite conversation. Vague and insignificant forms of speech, and abuse of language, have so long passed for mysteries of science; and hard or misapplied words, with little or no meaning, have, by prescription, such a right to be mistaken for deep learning and height of speculation; that it will not be easy to persuade either those who speak or those who hear them, that they are but the covers of ignorance and hindrance of true knowledge[1]."

And again,

"But the method of the schools having allowed and encouraged men to oppose and resist evident truths till they are baffled, *i.e.* till they are reduced to contradict themselves or some established principle, it is no wonder that they should not, in civil conversation, be ashamed of that which in the schools is accounted a virtue and a glory, viz. obstinately to maintain that side of the question they have chosen, whether true or false, to the last extremity, even after conviction: a strange way to attain truth and knowledge; and that which, I think, the rational part of mankind, not corrupted by education, could scarce believe should ever be admitted amongst the lovers of truth and students of religion or nature, or introduced into the seminaries of those who are to propagate the truths of religion or philosophy amongst the ignorant and unconvinced. How much such a way of learning is likely to turn young minds from the sincere search and love of truth, nay, and to make them doubt whether there is any such thing, or at least worth adhering to, I shall not now enquire. This I think, that, bating those places which brought the peripatetic philosophy into their schools, where it continued many ages, *without teaching the world*

[1] Preface to the *Essay*.

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anything but the art of wrangling, these maxims are nowhere thought the foundations on which the sciences were built, nor the great helps to the advancement of knowledge[1]."

What too, we may ask, would Henry More and his friends the Quakers have said to the following?

His chapter on Enthusiasm.

"Immediate revelation being a much easier way for men to establish their opinions and regulate their conduct than the tedious and not always successful labour of strict reasoning, it is no wonder that some have been very apt to pretend to revelation, and to persuade themselves that they are under the peculiar guidance of heaven in their actions and opinions, especially in those of them which they cannot account for by the ordinary methods of knowledge and principles of reason. Hence we see that in all ages men, in whom melancholy has mixed with devotion, or whose conceit of themselves has raised them into an opinion of a greater familiarity with God, and a nearer admittance to His favour, than is afforded to others, have often flattered themselves with a persuasion of an immediate intercourse with the Deity, and frequent communications from the Divine Spirit.....:.Their minds being thus prepared, whatever groundless opinion comes to settle itself strongly upon their fancies, is an illumination from the Spirit of God, and presently of divine authority; and whatever odd action they find in themselves a strong inclination to do, that impulse is concluded to be a call or direction from heaven, and must be obeyed; it is a commission from above, and they cannot err in executing it[2]."

How the Anglican and the Puritan dogmatist alike must have winced under such words as these:—

His estimate of the value of authority.

"For since the reasoning faculties of the soul, which

[1] Book IV. c. 7, sect. 11.

[2] Bk. IV. c. 19, s. 6.

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are almost constantly (though not always warily or wisely) employed, would not know how to move for want of a foundation and footing in most men, who through laziness or avocation, do not—or for want of time, or true helps, or for other causes, cannot—penetrate into the principles of knowledge, and trace truth to its fountain and original, it is natural for them, and almost unavoidable, to take up with some borrowed principles; which, being reputed and presumed to be the evident proofs of other things, are thought not to need any other proof themselves. Whoever shall receive any of these into his mind, and entertain them there with the reverence usually paid to principles, never venturing to examine them, *but accustoming himself to believe them because they are to be believed*, may take up from his education and the fashions of his country any absurdity for innate principles; and by long poring on the same objects, so dim his sight, as to take monsters lodged in his own brain for images of the Deity and the workmanship of His hands[1]."

With all its faults of style and method, its frequent repetitions, its looseness and ambiguities of expression, and its occasional contradictions, Locke's great work will still maintain its place as one of the noblest vindications of the rights and dignity of the human reason against dogmatism and tradition. "Whether we consider," says his fond admirer, Mr Mill, "the era which it constitutes in philosophy, the intrinsic value, even at the present day, of its thoughts, or the noble devotion to truth, the beautiful and touching earnestness and simplicity, which he not only manifests in himself, but has the power beyond almost all other philosophical writers of infusing into his reader —we cannot but speak of this work with the highest reverence." As one of the earlier modern authorities, it has

[1] Bk. I. c. 3, s. 26.

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been Locke's misfortune to be quoted in support of conclusions which he would probably have rejected. Writers of the French sensationalist school and writers of the school of Bentham have drawn from his works inferences in favour of more extreme views, which there is little reason to think he would ever have sanctioned. It is remarkable that, though chiefly designed as a contribution to metaphysical philosophy, the influence of the *Essay* has been equally discernible in the formation of an ethical school. The teachings of Hobbes are to be recognised throughout. On many points, and those not unimportant ones, such as the theory of the will, the formation of opinions, and the ultimate sanction of morality, the expressed views of the two are almost identical. To such an extent, indeed, was this fact recognised in Locke's own time, that even able thinkers, such as Shaftesbury, Newton, and Stillingfleet, long took him for a Hobbist in disguise. As time progressed, his philosophy, instead of being openly denounced, was inculcated from the pulpit, and, a century later, found expression in its most undisguised form in the *Moral Philosophy* of Paley[1].

Extended influence of the *Essay*.

The limits of our task will not allow us to trace the history of this philosophy and its effects. Suffice to say that, combined with those severer studies to which we have adverted, its influence was soon perceptible in the changed tone of thought which pervaded each department of study. The vast but inaccurate learning of Barnes gave place to the exact scholarship of Bentley; the pedantry and frequent flights of imagination which marked the pulpit oratory of Taylor were succeeded by the unimpassioned eloquence and close reasoning which characterised the discourses of Sher-

General change in each department of Study.

[1] "It is to the entire domination that his *Essay* had once established in our University, that we may perhaps attribute all that is faulty in the *Moral Philosophy* of Paley." Professor Sedgwick's *Discourse*.

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lock, Stillingfleet, and Tillotson; and the enthusiasm, bordering on credulity, of More and Mede, was exchanged for the scepticism of Whiston and the laboured arguments of Clarke.

Conclusion.

We must now hasten to a close. Had time permitted, it would have been no uninteresting task to have prolonged our enquiry, and to have pursued it in those more minute branches into which it subdivides. We could have wished to have given some further account of that famous "Latitudinarian" school of which we have already spoken, and which rose to so much importance with the commencement of the new era; to have said something of the historians of the time,—Strype, Fuller, and Echard; to have traced, as far as might be, the influence of their Alma Mater in the poets of the age,—Crashaw, Cowley, Dryden, Herbert, Quarles, Marvell, and Matthew Prior; and, especially, to have given a few pages to some account of the illustrious Glanvil, perhaps the most original thinker of the age, and who, though not of our University, exerted so great an influence on several of her leading minds.

Enough, however, has perhaps been done, to avoid leaving unrecognised any of the essential features of Cambridge training and its results during this seventeenth century. To a certain order of thinkers, the revolution our University underwent, during that period, will probably appear a matter for unmingled congratulation. To an observer of a different school, it may seem, that, great as are our gains, they have been acquired at the cost of something no less precious. He may be disposed to consider that exact scholarship, invaluable though it be, seems to have involved in its general culture the extinction of much of that enthusiasm without which no study can long be a vitalising and beneficial pursuit; that, if the learning of the former period was defective with

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respect to the *language*, it was perhaps the better informed with regard to the *mind*, of antiquity; that, if the piety of the earlier age sometimes degenerated into superstition, the theology of succeeding times seems often to have imprudently essayed the speculations of a dangerous scepticism; that if, on the one hand, a somewhat undiscriminating admiration for antiquity resulted in a too servile deference to authority, an over partiality, on the other hand, for the rigid demonstrations of the exact sciences, seems to have too often led to a disregard of those wise words of the Stagirite, which warn us against admitting in our enquiries a method more stringent than the subject-matter will fairly allow; and as he marks the progress of a scepticism not less dangerous and of a philosophy far more subversive than any which that seventeenth century beheld, he may miss the eloquence, the learning, and the living faith, which repelled such dangers in the days of old.

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